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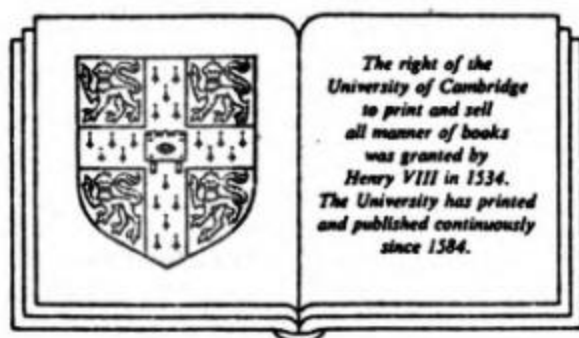


THUCYDIDES  
THE PELOPONNESIAN  
WAR  
BOOK II

*offices*  
EDITED BY

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For Caroline Ware Rusten

[The historian's] literary devices are not separate from historical truth, but the precise means of conveying it . . . What should prevent the historian from offering his findings in [a] dry, deliberately graceless manner . . . is not literary aversion but his recognition that such a mode of presentation would be not merely less delightful than a disciplined narrative – it would also be less true.

Peter Gay, *Style in history*

L'originalité est donc le prix dont il faut payer l'espoir d'être accueilli (et non seulement compris) de qui vous lit. C'est là une communication de luxe, beaucoup de détails étant nécessaires pour dire peu de choses avec exactitude. Mais ce luxe est vital, car dès que la communication est affective (c'est la disposition profonde de la littérature), la banalité lui devient la plus lourde des menaces.

Roland Barthes, Preface to *Essais critiques* 1.

εὐαρίθμητοι γάρ τινές εἰσιν οἱοὶ πάντα τὰ Θουκυδίδου συμβα-  
λεῖν, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι χωρὶς ἐξηγήσεως γραμματικῆς ἔνια.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides*



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## PREFACE

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The aim of this commentary is easily stated: to assist the attempt to learn to read Thucydides. Yet as our notion of reading becomes more complex, so the ways it is learned grow more numerous, and the commentator's tasks multiply. Inquiry into this particular work's historical context (and autobiographical subtext) has already been intense, nor is it slighted here; but its philosophic and literary connections deserve much deeper scrutiny, and its linguistic texture, relegated to the depths of schoolboy grammar or the heights of textual criticism, has been virtually ignored in works in English in this century.

For an attempt to correct this imbalance what is now called Book 2 (despite its intermediate status – of the stories of Archidamus and Pericles it gives only the end, and of Plataea only the beginning) seemed the most urgent place to start: the funeral oration, the account of the plague of Athens, and the obituary of Pericles belong by any reckoning not merely to historiography, but also to the elements of Greek literature. They accordingly receive more thorough treatment here, and the linguistic commentary on them speaks even to those whose knowledge of Greek is less advanced. To that end, grammatical references are frequent and, on all but the most difficult questions, to works in English. I hope more skilled readers will not find these reminders annoying, but rather feel, as I do, that such an elaborate text is better served with clarity than brevity; and that a constant (if subconscious) attention to the minutiae of expression is one of the ways we fashion an identity for the writer and his product, which, in turn, is one of the ways we read.

No commentary can be concluded without a mixture of satisfaction at accomplishments, regret for explanations not yet found, and anxiety over errors and omissions. The extent of the last has been much reduced by corrections and suggestions from

## PREFACE

friends: I am indebted in particular to A. J. Graham, but also (among others) to Shin K. Cho, A. Lowell Edmunds, Richard Hamilton, Albert Henrichs, Mabel Lang, Nicole Loraux, Jody Rubin Pinault, Gilbert Rose, William Merritt Sale, Ruth Scodel, and many enthusiastic and diligent students at Harvard and Washington Universities.

The manuscript was further improved by Susan Moore of the press staff, and Professors Easterling and Kenney. From start to finish I had the good fortune of regular access to computer tapes of the text of Thucydides (and most of the rest of ancient Greek literature) from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in Irvine, California, and a variety of search programs written by Gregory Crane (for the Harvard Classics Department) and David Packard and William Johnson (for the Ibycus SC).

My greatest debt is to Caroline, who has lavished on this project so much encouragement, counsel and support that it rightly belongs to her.

*St Louis*

J. S. R.



# INTRODUCTION

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## 1. THUCYDIDES AND HIS HISTORY

For the life of Thucydides we possess information of two sorts:<sup>1</sup> (1) the primary evidence from his own work, to which may be added the inscription on his tomb, discovered in Athens 'among the monuments of Cimon's family' by Polemon the periegete in the second century B.C.;<sup>2</sup> (2) the speculations of hellenistic and later biographers and commentators, which are especially evident in the βίος Θουκυδίδου written by a certain Marcellinus.<sup>3</sup> The latter are not necessarily false,<sup>4</sup> but only the former may be accepted unconditionally.

Thucydides tells us himself that even at the beginning of the war he was old enough to understand it (5.26.5 αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ). At some time in 429-426 he suffered from the plague (2.48.3). He was elected a general in 424/3 and commanded a fleet in the campaign in the area of Thrace, where he had influence and mining properties (4.105.1); but he failed to relieve Amphipolis before it was captured by Brasidas (4.102-8), and after this campaign he was exiled for 20 years (5.26.5). Though he clearly lived to the end of the war, his history is unfinished, breaking off in the summer of 411. We may guess that he was born c. 460, and died c. 400.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the distinction see especially Wilamowitz, 'Die Thukydideslegende'. His scepticism was tempered in *Platon II* (Berlin 1919) 12-16.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Cimon* 4, Marcellinus 16 (Wilamowitz, 'Thukydideslegende' 13-23).

<sup>3</sup> It is derived largely from the grammarian Didymus (first century B.C.). For Marcellinus himself see O. Luschnat, 'Die Thukydides-scholien', *Philologus* 98 (1954) 42-7. The text is prefaced to most editions of Thucydides (Stuart Jones, Luschnat, Alberti), but to my knowledge it has never been translated into English.

<sup>4</sup> As Wilamowitz himself noted later (*Platon II* (Berlin 1919) 12-16).

<sup>5</sup> Somewhat later, if the note on Archelaus (2.100.2n.) is really an 'obituary' after his death in 399. J. Pouilloux and F. Salviat, 'Lichas, Lacédémonien, archonte à Thasos, et le livre viii de Thucydide', *C.R.A.I.* 1983, 376-403, suggest that he lived until the late 390s, on the basis of the occurrence of a certain Lichas son of Arcesilaus as archon of Thasos in 396/7, whom they identify as the Spartan whose death is recorded at 8.84.5; but cf. P. A. Cartledge, *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 9 (1984) 98-102.

i. *Family*<sup>6</sup>

Thucydides refers to himself (4.104.4) as the son of Olorus (the 'grave-stone' adds that his deme was Halimous). The name is rare and significant. It is first attested for a Thracian king whose daughter Hegesipyle married Miltiades (Hdt. 6.39 and 41, Plut. *Cimon* 4), and it is unlikely to have been given to any Athenian other than descendants of Miltiades and his son Cimon. Given the Greek habit of naming children after illustrious

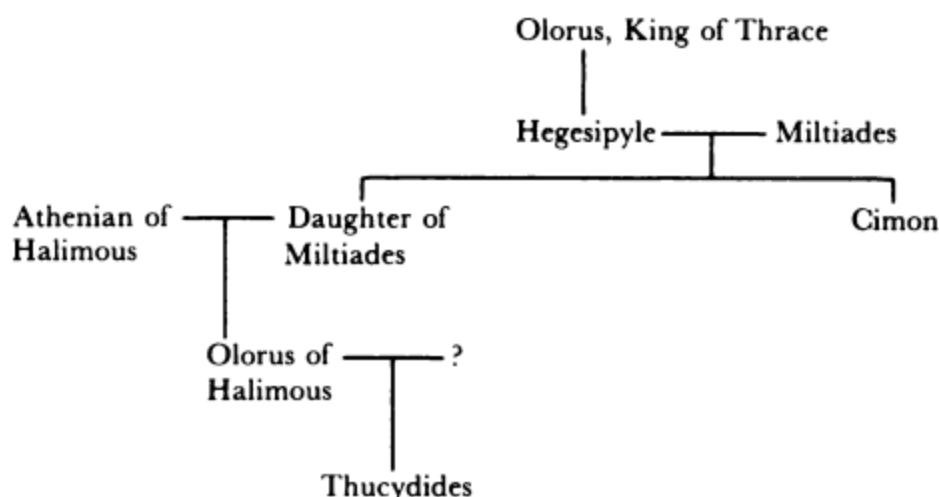


Figure 1A. The family of Thucydides according to Kirchner

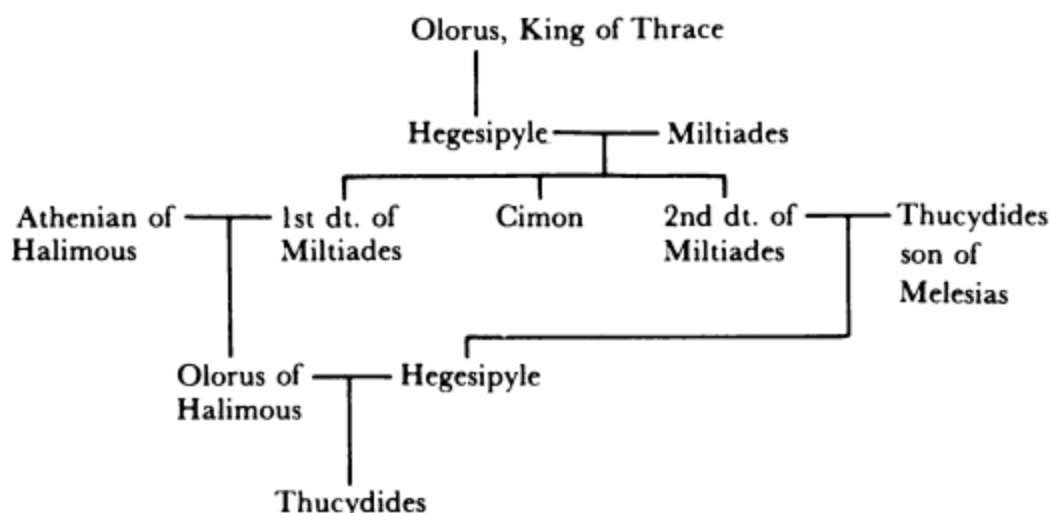


Figure 1B. The family of Thucydides according to Cavaignac

<sup>6</sup> See especially J. K. Davies, *Athenian propertied families* (Oxford 1971) 230-7 (no. 7268) with full discussion and bibliography.

ancestors, a family tree was constructed by J. Kirchner (*Prosopographia Attica* 1 (Berlin 1901) 470, no. 7267; see Figure 1A) according to which the historian is the great-grandson of Miltiades. These paternal ancestors explain why Thucydides possessed gold mines and influence in Thrace, as well as his willingness to digress on Thracian affairs (see 2.29 and 2.97nn.). But at the same time it is somewhat surprising to find such pronounced admiration for the Alcmeonid Pericles in a descendant of his enemy Cimon.<sup>7</sup>

Thucydides' maternal ancestry may have been equally hostile to Pericles, if the conjecture of E. Cavaignac (*R.Ph.* 3 (1929) 281-5) is correct. From the statement that Thucydides' mother was named Hegesipyle (Marcellinus 2), and the coincidence of name with Thucydides the son of Melesias (born c. 500, Davies 231-3), a politician and lifelong opponent of Pericles, Cavaignac suggested we add to the original stemma an extra daughter of Miltiades (and sister of Cimon) whose daughter was Thucydides' mother (see Figure 1B).

If this is true, then Olorus married his cousin, and both the historian and his mother were named after their maternal grandparents from the family of Cimon. The speculation rests partly on weak evidence – there is little likelihood that the name of the historian's mother was known from a document – but it remains tempting.<sup>8</sup>

## ii. *The question of composition*<sup>9</sup>

'The art of historical writing as practised by Thucydides did not remain static, but underwent appreciable modifications as his [work] progressed.'<sup>10</sup>

It would be surprising if this were not true of any work of comparable scope, and Thucydides' history is in addition unfinished, so that it may be possible to *detect* more than one of these stages in its composition.

But the controversy has become an emotional one, fuelled by a

<sup>7</sup> Davies 235 prefers to think that Thucydides' anonymous grandfather may have been an Alcmeonid.

<sup>8</sup> Davies 236 is sceptical; it is accepted by H. T. Wade-Gery, 'Thucydides son of Melesias', *Essays on Greek history* (Oxford 1958) 246, and Wilamowitz, *Platon* II.13 (overlooked by Davies) seems to anticipate it.

<sup>9</sup> For a full analysis see Dover in *HCT* v Appendix 2, 'Strata of composition', where, however, little reference is made to previous discussions. He notes (405) that 'the burden of proof [is] on the unitarians'.

<sup>10</sup> Westlake, *Individuals* vii.

misleading analogy with the Homeric question which classifies Thucydidean scholars as 'unitarians' and 'separatists'. (On the Homeric model, the former would tend to believe that the history is complete as we have it, the latter that it is a composite of several authors' work; neither view is tenable.) In fact, they divide on two different questions: (1) were substantial parts of the work written during the war itself, or was it produced only *after* 404?<sup>11</sup> The answer will affect the degree of inconsistency we are prepared to explain as intentional. (2) If there *are* inconsistencies, are they matters of detail or substance?

### iii. *Evidence on composition*

The relevant evidence within Thucydides' work is of several kinds.

*Inconsistencies of detail.*<sup>12</sup> Some statements appear to be contradicted by later events. Three clear examples are in the second book: 2.1, both sides fought 'without interruption' (ξυνεχῶς) through the whole war, which could be said only if the war ended with the peace of Nicias in 421; 2.23.3, the Oropians are identified as subjects of Athens, which was true only until 412; 2.94.1, the Peloponnesian raid towards Piraeus produced the greatest Athenian panic of the war, which is contradicted by 7.71.7, 8.1 and 8.96.1. There are, however, statements in these same sections (especially in 2.65) which just as clearly were written *after* the defeat of 404, so that it will not do to suppose that all of this section is 'early'.

*Varying degrees of completeness.*<sup>13</sup> Most parts of the work (1.1-4.51, and 5.84-8.1) appear quite polished, with speeches, elaborate digressions, and carefully arranged narratives; but two long stretches (4.52-5.83 and 8.2-109) tend to use few or no speeches, reproduce documents more often and narrate events in a perfunctory, episodic style;<sup>14</sup> they look to some like a preliminary version, which lacked the *ultima manus* at Thucydides' death.

<sup>11</sup> For a brief doxography see Schmid 127 n. 1. Supporters of the first view (F. W. Ullrich, E. Schwartz, W. Schadewaldt) may rely on 1.1.1 ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον ... ὀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου. Proponents of postwar composition (K. W. Krüger, J. Classen, E. Meyer, H. Patzer, J. H. Finley) may point to Thucydides' explicit statement (in the 'second preface', 5.26), that he considers the entire 27 years to be a single war; if this represents a change of mind, Thucydides does not want us to know it.

<sup>12</sup> Dover, *HCT* v.405-15.

<sup>13</sup> Dover, *HCT* v.389-99.

<sup>14</sup> For a defence of the documents see however W. R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton 1984) 144-7.



*Variations in length and arrangement of narrative.* Even within the more polished sections, Thucydides employs different narrative strategies, as follows.

A. 1.1–1.145<sup>15</sup> is a complicated mixture of chronologically and factually disparate elements, intended to introduce the years leading up to the war, the main actors and Thucydides' methods. It has three backward-looking digressions (the 'archaeology' in 1.2–19, the 'pentekontaetia' in 1.89–118 and the stories of Pausanias and Themistocles in 1.126–38), two narratives of conflict between Athens and the Peloponnesians over former Corinthian colonies (Corcyra in 1.24–55 and Potidaea in 1.56–65) and two debates among the Peloponnesians (1.66–88, 1.118–25), all culminating in Pericles' rejection of the Spartan ultimatum (1.139–45) which begins the war (2.1n.).

B. 1.146–4.51 is a balanced and comprehensive narrative of seven successive years of war. Here no single story is allowed to disrupt the chronology (e.g., the capture and destruction of Plataea is told in four instalments), nor stretch to excessive length; yet most years are marked by central events which prevent the story from being merely a collection of annalistic episodes (431, the evacuation of Attica and Pericles' funeral oration; 430, the plague and Pericles' final defence of his leadership; 429, Phormio's sea battles in the gulf of Corinth; 427, the fall of Plataea, the debate over Mytilene and στάσις at Corcyra; 425, the capture of Sphacteria).

C. 6.1–8.1 is virtually a separate monograph, covering only two years and telling the story of the Sicilian campaign from its hopeful beginning (with an introduction on the geography of Sicily) to its disastrous end.

*Inconsistent views on the principles of the war.* These are the most subjective and yet, if accepted, the most significant variations within the work. A few of the changes of mind attributed to Thucydides (and relevant to Book 2) are:

*Portraits of individuals.* They tend at the start to be used as ideals, or representatives of a species (Pericles, Archidamus, Phormio), while in later sections there is greater emphasis on their personalities and relations with others (Alcibiades, Nicias).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> It is important to remember that the current book-divisions are not the work of Thucydides himself (see the introductory n. to 2.1); for the present analysis, nearly every one of them is in some way misleading.

<sup>16</sup> Westlake, *Individuals*, especially 308–19.

*Reasons for failure in Sicily.* The obituary of Pericles (2.65.11) states that the expedition failed because of a lack of domestic support, yet the narrative of Books 6 and 7 suggests rather that the catastrophe results from a tragic sequence of errors and near misses.<sup>17</sup>

*Importance of ὁμόνοια.* In the same passage (2.65.12) Thucydides attributes the final defeat of Athens to internal disunity; yet the years of Athens' worst internal discord (411–407) were also years of great military success.<sup>18</sup>

iv. *Ullrich's theory of composition*

The first and still the most coherent method of accounting for these discrepancies is that initiated by F. W. Ullrich, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thucydides* (Hamburg 1846) 63–150, who suggested that Thucydides began writing after the peace of Nicias, under the impression that the war had ended in 421; when he had completed what is now 1–4.51 (ending with the capture of Sphacteria), the Sicilian disaster forced him to reconsider his plan, and he wrote a separate account of that campaign (and the preceding defeat of Melos). After the final defeat of Athens in 404 he wrote a second preface (5.26), began to make the work continuous, and revised some of the earliest sections also; but he did not finish before his death. Thus we possess sections written at various times:

*Finished sections* (covering 431–425, 416–413)

1.–4.51 written after 421 (but with insertions (notably 2.65) after 404)

5.84–8.1 on the defeat of Melos and the Sicilian expedition (written after 413)

*Unfinished sections* (to fill in gaps in the '27-year war')

4.52–5.83 (covering 424–416)

8.2–8.109 (covering 413–411)

At Thucydides' death, some editor<sup>19</sup> will have combined these sections to produce the work as it stands today.

<sup>17</sup> See 2.65.11nn. F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides mythistoricus* (London 1907) perceives fully the tragic qualities of the Sicilian expedition, and attempts to distort the Periclean narrative to make it consistent.

<sup>18</sup> See 2.65.12nn.

<sup>19</sup> Often identified as Xenophon; see Introd. '5. The text', below.

v. *The limitations of compositional analysis*

Ullrich's judgements of many individual passages are open to dispute (the treatments which followed him have only increased the areas of disagreement), and create the quite false impression that Thucydides' basic views on historiography and political philosophy were uncertain, or subject to radical alteration.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the debate between those positing one or more stages of incomplete revision on the one hand, and those on the other who argue that the inconsistencies do not constitute significant changes in conception within the work itself, has produced something closer to exhaustion than consensus; the most valuable recent studies prefer to subordinate the problem of composition to other aspects of the history.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. ΛΟΓΟΣ AS ΕΡΓΟΝ: FICTION AND HISTORY IN THE SPEECHES<sup>22</sup>

i. *The problem*

At most of the decisive moments of Thucydides' history there occur orations by leaders of the various parties, some (like Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades) well known, others (like Diodotus or the Melians) no more than names or even anonymous; they form the most difficult and rewarding sections of his work. Modern scholars usually approach the

<sup>20</sup> For the continuity of thought between Book 2 and other sections see *Introd.* '3. Themes of the narrative, 431-29', below.

<sup>21</sup> Beginning with de Romilly, and continued in the books by Stahl, Westlake, Schneider, Edmunds, as well as the specialized studies by Lévy, Garlan, and Loraux (see the bibliography). Two exceptions: H. Rawlings, *The structure of Thucydides' history* (Princeton 1981), who develops an ingenious structure to argue that 431-421 and 413-403 are narrated as two exactly parallel wars (and extrapolates 'books 9-10' on that basis); but (despite a brilliant elucidation of 2.1, where see nn.) he never confronts the problems presented above. W. R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton 1984) who focuses on variations, but views them largely as intentional.

<sup>22</sup> The literature is endless. Among the most substantial contributions are Dover, *HCT* v.393-9; F. Egermann, 'Thukydides über die Art seiner Reden und über seine Darstellung der Kriegsgeschehnisse', *Historia* 21 (1972) 575-602; A. Grosskinsky, *Das Programm des Thukydides* (*Neue deutsche Forschungen* 68, Berlin 1936); C. Schneider, *Information und Absicht bei Thukydides* (Göttingen 1974) 143-54.

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evaluation of these speeches with one of two opinions: that Thucydides reproduces accurately speeches which he either witnessed or investigated,<sup>23</sup> or that they are largely fictitious.<sup>24</sup> The vindication of either view would bring important advantages for our study of Thucydides: if they are faithful, we gain valuable reports of the policies and perhaps even the personalities of the most important Athenian and Spartan leaders. If they are entirely fictitious, then we may isolate them as 'editorial comment', revealing Thucydides' own opinions to a greater extent than he could in his narrative sections.

The solution to this problem *should* be found in Thucydides' chapter on his methods (1.22), yet this is a source of even more dispute, for two reasons.

(1) Thucydides structures the whole passage around the antithesis between the ἔργα (events) of the war, for which he claims the strictest possible accuracy, and the λόγοι (speeches), for which he claims something less. Yet no matter what Thucydides may say, speeches are events, too – and some of the speeches of Pericles, Cleon, or Alcibiades must have been major events of the war. They are therefore subject to the same standards of factual accuracy as any other event.

(2) Even within his statement of method for the speeches there is ambiguity, for he says not only that as he wrote he was 'keeping as closely as possible to the general content of what was actually said' (ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς συμπασης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων), but also that he has composed the speeches to include 'more or less what had to be said about the respective situations' (περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα). One suggests reasonably accurate reproduction, the other considerable invention. How can they co-exist?<sup>25</sup>

The reasons why Thucydides believed he could separate the factual and rhetorical elements of his work (and claim accuracy for the one while disclaiming it for the other) lie in the two traditions of speech-making which he fused for the first time in his history.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Kagan, *Archidamian War* 366, *Y.C.S.* 24 (1975) 71–94 and M. Cogan, *The human thing* (Chicago 1981) xi–xvi.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. de Ste Croix, *Origins* 7–16.

<sup>25</sup> The most desperate attitude is that of Dover, *HCT* v.396–7 (following Pohlenz): the method expounded in 1.22 and the actual practice of the speeches are so contradictory that this chapter must belong to an earlier stage of composition, describing a more accurate approach to the speeches which was later abandoned.

ii. *Speeches in early Greek historiography*

Before Thucydides, the historiographical tradition had only just awakened to the potential use of political speeches. In the fragments of Acusilaus of Argos and Pherecydes of Athens we have impersonal indirect narrative;<sup>26</sup> vivid dialogue is blended with narrative first in Hecataeus,<sup>27</sup> and occasionally in Herodotus also (4.118, 5.31).

Herodotus breaks new ground by making frequent use of direct speech, especially in the dialogues with which he elaborates his stories;<sup>28</sup> these exchanges could develop into a form of political debate, at some times obviously fictional,<sup>29</sup> at others with some claim to accuracy.<sup>30</sup> A general definition of Herodotus' practice in speeches remains elusive, but it seems as if he adheres largely to traditional uses of the speech in poetry – it remains for him a dramatic device, tied to particular characters and situations, rather than a tool for generalizing historical analysis.<sup>31</sup> When he came to compose his speeches, Thucydides sought his models elsewhere.

iii. *Speeches in the rhetorical tradition*<sup>32</sup>

During the last decades of the fifth century one of the most important practical skills an Athenian could possess was that of compelling argu-

<sup>26</sup> *FGrHist* 2 F 22, 3 F 18a. Notable in the verbs implying speech is the consistent use of historical present (κελεύει, ἀπειλεῖ).

<sup>27</sup> [Longinus] *περὶ ὕψους* 27 = *FGrHist* 1 F 30; perhaps the exchange of Zas and Chthonie in Pherecydes of Syros (*VS* 7 B 2) was similar.

<sup>28</sup> W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot* (Göttingen 1921), 241ff. See in general F. Jacoby, *RE Suppl.* II.491.41ff.; A. Deffner, *Die Rede bei Herodot und ihre Weiterbildung bei Thukydides* (diss. Munich 1933); Erwin Schulz, *Die Reden im Herodot* (Greifswald 1933).

<sup>29</sup> Notably 3.80–6 (the Persian conspirators debate the best constitution – later (6.43.3) Herodotus acknowledges scepticism about these speeches, but does not recant them), and 7.8–11 (Xerxes, Mardonius and Artabanus debate the invasion of Greece).

<sup>30</sup> Especially 8.58–63 (Themistocles' speech before Salamis), 8.140–4 (Athens is offered peace terms by Mardonius); cf. 7.157–62 (Gelon refuses to fight the Persians).

<sup>31</sup> Mabel Lang, *Herodotean narrative and discourse* (Cambridge, Mass. 1984).

<sup>32</sup> For a general account see G. Kennedy, *The art of persuasion in Greece* (Princeton 1963) 26–51; H. Gomperz, *Sophistik und Rhetorik: das Bildungsideal des εὖ λέγειν in seinem Verhältnis zur Philosophie des V. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912); O. Navarre, *Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote* (Paris 1900).



ment. Political leaders advanced through their speeches in the assembly (ῥήτωρ became the term for 'politician') and survived attempts to dethrone them through their speeches in court.<sup>33</sup> Nor were those without political ambitions exempt: in the popular imagination (and often enough in fact) an unscrupulous but skilled speaker might rob a businessman of his property, a craftsman of his customers, or a patriot of his citizenship.<sup>34</sup>

It is therefore little wonder that the leading intellects of the day practised and promoted the composition of public speeches, not only to meet specific needs,<sup>35</sup> but also for display and example.<sup>36</sup> Set speeches also began to pervade other genres: there had always been speeches in tragedy, but now (especially in Euripides) they become more generalising, and less relevant to the dramatic situation and the characters who deliver them;<sup>37</sup> the heroes of old comedy (Dikaiopolis, Lysistrata, Peisetairos) may carry their points using precisely that rhetorical skill which Aristophanes decries in real-life politicians; and Plato's re-creation of an intellectual gathering of this period in the *Symposium* makes skill in speechmaking the competitive criterion acknowledged by all.<sup>38</sup>

Thucydides found before him, then, two traditions of the use of

<sup>33</sup> Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 703–18) notes that the recent emphasis on rhetorical skill gives the younger generation an unfair advantage over its elders, and suggests that ἀντιδίκοι be matched by age.

<sup>34</sup> Gorgias, *Helen* 8–14, reflected in Plato, *Gorgias* 456a7–c7; see Charles Segal, 'Gorgias and the psychology of the λόγος', *H.S.C.P.* 66 (1962) 99–155; J. de Romilly, *Magic and rhetoric in ancient Greece* (Cambridge, Mass. 1975); cf. Strepsiades' reasoning in *Clouds* 112–18.

<sup>35</sup> See S. Usher, 'Lysias and his clients', *G.R.B.S.* 17 (1976) 31–40; M. Lavency, *Aspects de la logographie judiciaire attique* (Louvain 1964).

<sup>36</sup> The epideictic speeches begin with the *Helen* and *Palamedes* of Gorgias; the first model speeches are the *Tetralogies* ascribed to Antiphon, and the 'case-method' of rhetorical instruction is parodied in Ar. *Clouds* 757–82. See in general D. A. Russell, *Greek declamation* (Cambridge 1983), and W. Hofrichter, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Deklamation* (diss. Breslau, Ohlau 1935). (The fragment of a speech to the Athenian assembly by Thrasymachus (*VS* 85 B 1) may also belong here, since as a foreigner he is unlikely to have delivered it himself.)

<sup>37</sup> Jacqueline Duchemin, *L'ΑΓΩΝ dans la tragédie grecque* (Paris 1945) and C. Collard, 'Formal debates in Euripides' drama', *G. & R.* 22 (1975) 58–71.

<sup>38</sup> Elsewhere (*Phaedrus* 257c–258d2) Plato argues playfully that skill in λογογραφία is what all politicians crave.



speeches: one born from poetic narrative and using direct speech mostly for occasional embellishment, and a more recent rhetorical one, pursuing speechmaking for its own sake. By employing the second in his work, he created an entirely new type of history.<sup>39</sup>

*iv. Words vs. events in 1.22*

The methodological remarks which Thucydides adds to his preface claim the following:<sup>40</sup>

καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι, ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν, ἐμοὶ τε ὦν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται.

τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος πυνθανόμενος ἡξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατόν ἀκριβεῖαι περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθὼν· ἐπιπόνως δ' ἠύρισκετο, διότι οἱ παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἑκάστοις οὐ ταῦτ' ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἑκατέρων τις εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι.

'As for what individuals *said* either in anticipation of the war or during the fighting, it was difficult to recollect the exact truth – not only for me, of the speeches which I heard myself, but also for those from somewhere else who gave me information; and I have written the speeches more or less as it seemed to me the individuals would have said what had to be said about the respective situations, although I have kept as closely as possible to the general content of speeches which were actually delivered.

<sup>39</sup> That virtually all ancient historians who make substantial use of speeches ultimately depend on Thucydides is well shown by C. Fornara, *The nature of history in ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley 1983) 142–68.

<sup>40</sup> The translation of this sentence anticipates three elements which are discussed below: (1) μάλιστα means not 'especially' but 'approximately'; (2) τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων does not imply that every speech in the history corresponded to a speech actually delivered; and (3) the participle ἐχομένῳ is concessive.

'But the factual *events* of the war I have determined to recount not on the basis of random inquiry nor according to my own speculations, but after examining as exactly as possible in detail both the events at which I myself was present and those learned from others. They were painstakingly researched, since eyewitnesses to the details gave stories about the same events which were not identical, but influenced by memory, or partiality for one side or other.'

The most striking feature of this chapter is its overall antithetical structure.<sup>41</sup> On the one hand we have the individual speeches (ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι), on the other the events (τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραγμάτων); each of these larger divisions contains within itself two sentences (the second added with δέ), one concerning the difficulty of inquiry, the other concerning the level of accuracy claimed:

1. The speeches
  - (a) were difficult to recall exactly;
  - (b) have been composed according to my own judgement, although the general content of real speeches has been retained.
2. The events
  - (a) have *not* been narrated according to my own judgement, but with the greatest possible accuracy;
  - (b) were very difficult to ascertain.

Since the thought is developed by contrast the inner statements are forced to come in reverse order, so that the contrast lies between 1(b) and 2(a); 1(a) and 2(b) make the same statement about their respective subjects.

No one acquainted with Thucydides will be surprised at the two terms of the antithesis: the opposition between λόγος and ἔργον is so frequent in his work that it often leads him into awkward or inadequate formulations.<sup>42</sup> It is further true that, to some degree, the speeches serve here as a mere foil for the events; the difficulties of achieving accuracy for the former necessitated some speculative reconstruction, whereas – and this is clearly the important point – with the latter no obstacle was avoided in the search for accuracy. Yet each of

<sup>41</sup> A thorough analysis of the structure is offered by G. Wille, 'Zu Stil und Methode des Thukydides' (*Thukydides*, ed. Hans Herter (Darmstadt 1968) 700–16), although the diagram he offers to clarify the arrangement (701) is incomprehensible.

<sup>42</sup> See 40.1n.

the terms of the contrast represents as well (as seen above) one of two traditions (historiography and rhetoric) which are brought together for the first time in his history.

ν. τὰ δέοντα περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων *and* ἡ ξύμπασσα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων

But the statement on speeches itself contains an even greater problem, since it appears to support both claims of invention *and* historical accuracy.<sup>43</sup> Thucydides cannot at one and the same time have composed speeches 'as I think they would have said more or less what had to be said' and still kept 'as closely as possible to the general content of the real speeches'. It is worth inquiring, therefore, whether he did these two things at *different* times – i.e., if the two phrases which qualify εἴρηται do not describe the composition of *two different types* of speeches, since the contrast between them is so thorough:

<i>Generalising speeches</i>	<i>Reconstructed speeches</i>
1. ὥς δ' ... ἐδόκουν ἔμοι μάλιστα <sup>44</sup>	ἐχομένωι ὅτι ... ἐγγύτατα
2. τὰ δέοντα <sup>45</sup>	τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης
3. ἄν ... περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων ... εἰπεῖν (contrary to fact) <sup>46</sup>	τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων

<sup>43</sup> See F. W. Walbank, 'Speeches in Greek historians', *Selected papers* (Cambridge 1985) 245. Luschkat (*RE* Suppl. xii.1173, 1177) notes how frequently interpreters of this chapter quote only one of the clauses, and omit the other.

<sup>44</sup> μάλιστα = 'approximately' (15.3n., cf. R. von Compernelle, 'L'emploi de μάλιστα, de ἐγγύς et de ἐγγύτατα avec des noms de nombre chez Thucydide', *A.C.* 27 (1958) 5-12).

<sup>45</sup> This has been claimed to mean either 'what had to be done' (i.e. the right advice; but what are we to think when there are two *opposed* speeches?), or 'what must have been said' (on the basis of historical research – which Thucydides says he has *not* undertaken), or 'what needed to be said' (for maximum persuasive effect). The third seems the only reasonable choice, cf. Gorgias, *VS* 82 v 6 (p. 285 line 18) τὸ δέον ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ λέγειν καὶ σιγᾶν καὶ ποιεῖν, and it alone is consistent with the contrary-to-fact statement in ἄν ... εἰπεῖν (see next n.).

<sup>46</sup> The commentators are curiously uninterested in the construction of ἄν here (as is R. P. Winnington-Ingram, who entitles his article on Cleon and Diodotus (*B.I.C.S.* 12 (1965) 70-82) 'τὰ δέοντα εἰπεῖν'). But there can be no doubt that it goes with the infinitive, which might stand either for optative (in which case εἰπεῖν is potential) or indicative (past contrary to fact); only the latter yields any sense here, and it is paralleled by contrary-to-fact constructions with δοκεῖν in 2.18.4 (ἐδόκουν ... ἄν ... καταλαβεῖν) and 3.11.8 (οὐκ ἄν ἐδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι).

1. contrasts speculation with faithful reproduction;
2. contrasts an external standard (rhetorical effectiveness) with actual content;
3. contrasts real *situations* (for which no pre-existing speeches are claimed) with real *speeches*.

Thus the discord within the sentence is the result of intention, not clumsiness or superficiality. The syntactical key to its interpretation – whose use has often led to misunderstandings in Thucydides – is the *concessive* participle, describing *two* methods of approach.

Thucydides is telling us that in the composition of his speeches he was faced with two different situations: some of the moments for which he planned λόγοι had clearly been the occasion of real speeches (what he calls τὰ ἀληθῶς λεχθέντα), whose contents he could discover at least in outline (ἡ ξύμπασσα γνώμη); yet there must also have been times when he did *not* have to deal with this problem, occasions on which no one knew or cared what, if anything, had been said, and where τὰ ἀληθῶς λεχθέντα simply did not exist. In the first case, would Thucydides have altered or distorted the essence of a speech whose contents were generally remembered? Very unlikely. In the other case, would he have refused to include a speech unless he was certain one had actually been delivered? Again improbable, otherwise the whole paragraph on method we have just discussed would have been superfluous.

We may conclude therefore that the historian's work involved at different times precisely the two *different* approaches he mentions in the key sentence: (1) the closest possible reconstruction<sup>47</sup> of some famous *actual* speeches (ἐχομένωι ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων), and (2) the free invention of suitably effective speeches *where none had existed* (ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν).

#### *vi. General criteria for judging historicity*

It is therefore impossible to reach a single verdict about the historicity of *all* Thucydides' speeches; but it should at least be possible to

<sup>47</sup> Never of course, an *exact reproduction*; some speeches are more elaborate than others, but they are all unmistakably Thucydides; stylistic parody of speeches begins with Plato. The phrase χαλεπὸν ... διαμνημονεῦσαι in 22.1 clearly implies that, if transcripts of any relevant speeches existed, neither Thucydides nor his informants made use of them.

formulate the criteria by which their individual accuracy can be assessed.<sup>48</sup>

(1) How likely is it that the speech actually took place? Here we must always rely on internal evidence and speculation, since there exists for none of his speeches independent confirmation of its historicity (such as with Claudius' speech at Tacitus, *Annales* 11.24 ~ Des-sau, *I.L.S.* no. 212).

(2) How likely is it that Thucydides could have learned the contents of the speech, either as an eyewitness (in Athens 431-424, elsewhere thereafter) or from the reports of others?

(3) To what extent does the speech suit the individual speaker rather than raising themes which run through all the history? For example, Pericles (2.60-1) and Alcibiades (6.16)<sup>49</sup> defend their own careers; but other speeches are delivered by national groups (Thebans, Athenians, Melians, Corinthians), still others are given to individuals (Archidamus, Sthenelaidas) who seem mere foils. Speeches using no specific names – like the fictive tetralogies of Antiphon – are least likely to have been real.

When applied to certain speeches, these criteria produce clear verdicts: in the Melian dialogue (5.84-116) the speakers are anonymous, the occasion private (Thucydides was by then in exile in any case), and the sentiments impersonal; it would be difficult to claim that it is not entirely fictitious.<sup>50</sup> At the other extreme, the debate over Mytilene (3.36-50) is tied to a specific public occasion, with two named speakers (one of whom never appears in the work again, and so could have been left anonymous) at a time when Thucydides was probably

<sup>48</sup> The conventions of reference do not help, since they are consistently general: e.g., τοιάδε introduces the speeches equally of Archidamus (1.79.2), Corinthians (1.119), Pericles (1.139.4, 2.34.8, 2.59.3), Cleon (3.36.6), Diodotus (3.41), the Melian dialogue (5.85.1), Nicias (6.8.4, 6.19.2), Alcibiades (6.15.5); and τοιαῦτα recapitulates speeches by Archidamus (1.85.3), Corinthians (1.124.3), Pericles (1.145.1, 2.65.1), Cleon (3.41), Diodotus (3.49.1), Nicias (6.15.1), Alcibiades (6.19.1). See J. E. Harrison, 'Thucydides' mode of presenting his speeches', *P.C.P.S.* 79-81 (1908) 10-13.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps also Diodotus, if his comments at 3.43 allude, as I suspect, to a general accusation that he had been bribed.

<sup>50</sup> The same can be said, I believe, of the speeches at the Spartan congresses in Book 1, or most of the pre-battle speeches (on which see 2.10-13, introductory n.).

present at Athens. The speeches themselves (and thus their *ξύμπασα γνώμη*) may be assumed to be historical.

vii. *The authenticity of Pericles' Funeral Oration*

How does this apply to the most famous speech in Book 2? Is it a careful reconstruction of a speech actually delivered by Pericles, or Thucydides' own free composition? Many have decided that its ideal picture of Athens must be a defence composed after the defeat of 404,<sup>51</sup> yet several of the above criteria make a *prima facie* case for authenticity: the *epitaphios* was an annual occasion of note, and it is hard to believe that in the winter of 431/0 the rising politician Thucydides did not attend. Furthermore, Pericles' oratorical skill was famous,<sup>52</sup> and he had delivered in 440/39 a memorable funeral oration from which several fragments are preserved.<sup>53</sup>

On the other hand, the funeral speech of 431 is attested only from Thucydides, and its cold comfort for the fallen and harsh words to the widows are not necessarily what we would expect from the Pericles we know from other sources.<sup>54</sup> Further, the themes of the speech – a glorification of contemporary Athens at this last moment before, with the plague, it begins its decline – are more appropriate to Thucydides' aims than those of Pericles. We need not go as far as Jacoby ('Patrios nomos' 57 n. 92), who doubted that Pericles even delivered such a speech in this year; but perhaps, in reproducing a speech of such traditional content, Thucydides took more freedom than elsewhere with the *ξύμπασα γνώμη*.

In a portrait like that of Pericles, with whom Thucydides identifies so closely, we see the problem of authenticity at its most complex. On one side of the artificial character who speaks the *epitaphios* stands the historian who created him; on the other stands the statesman who inspired him. Deciding to which of the two he is closer is as difficult and as subjective as mediating between the creator of the Platonic dialogues and the historical Socrates. Even where we clearly have the *ξύμπασα γνώμη τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων*, as in the *Apology* – an experiment which, like Plato's dialogues, surely owes something to Thucydides – the fictive speaker always stands somewhere in between. In

<sup>51</sup> Notably J. T. Kakridis, *Der thukydideische Epitaphios*, cf. the quotations collected by Dover, *HCT* v.405 n.3.

<sup>52</sup> See 2.65.9n. <sup>53</sup> See 2.35.1, 41.1–4, 44–6nn. <sup>54</sup> See 2.44–6, 45.2nn.

such cases no ancient authority or modern formula can decide its historicity for us: each reader must judge for himself.

### 3. THEMES OF THE NARRATIVE, 431–429 B.C.

Book 2 was never meant to stand by itself, and should not be considered in isolation; it depends on the threefold analysis of the causes of the war presented in Book 1,<sup>55</sup> and is itself preparatory to the stories in Book 3 of the extinction of Plataea, the debate over Mytilene and the account of στάσις at Corcyra.<sup>56</sup> Yet within the narrative of this book are found some of the most important elements of Thucydides' picture of the war.<sup>57</sup>

#### *i. Spartan and Athenian strategies, and the will of Athens*

σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς νησιῶται, τίνες ἂν ἀληπτότεροι ᾤσαν; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίαν ἀφεῖναι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν. (From Pericles' first speech, 1.143.5)

Thucydides' Pericles lacks the personal features of Plutarch's, being instead the persistent advocate of a single strategy for Athenian victory (2.13.2): attacking the Peloponnesians on their own territory by sea, while refraining completely from engaging them by land. This meant abandoning the countryside of Attica (with its many traditional associ-

<sup>55</sup> (1) The alleged cause: the Athenian alliance with Corcyra and the revolt of Potidaea from Athens (both being infringements of the peace of 446); (2) the real cause: Sparta's decision to resist the dangerous growth of Athenian power; (3) the theoretical model (sketched in the *archaeology*, which will operate throughout the war): the rise of empire through the accumulation of capital, the co-operation of weaker allies, and the development of military (especially naval) power, and the reversal of the process when στάσις leads to disunity and loss of strength.

<sup>56</sup> Plataea is a victim of Pericles' abandonment of the countryside (2.13.2), and of its own treachery to the Thebans (2.2–6); the debate over Mytilene shows Cleon's attempt to co-opt Pericles' consistency (3.38.1 ~ 2.61.2) and his view of empire (3.37.2 ~ 2.63.2); the account of στάσις at Corcyra recalls the erosion of social standards during the plague (2.53.1–4).

<sup>57</sup> For fuller discussion and bibliography on each point see the notes on the passages cited.

ations, 2.14–17) to annual Spartan invasions, while concentrating the population within the impregnable but inhospitable walls of Athens.

Thus the main battle of the first two years is fought for the minds of the Athenian people: will they persevere, first in *declining* to fight even when they see their lands devastated, then in *continuing* to fight despite the deaths within the city from the plague? Athens' future hangs in the balance, and Thucydides shows that Archidamus' subtle understanding of Athenian public opinion makes him a dangerous opponent (2.18–23). Pericles weathers savage personal attacks in both the first two years (2.21.3, 2.59.1), and manages to renew Athenian resolve before his death.

*ii. Chance and intelligence in warfare*

ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσον ἀμαθῶς  
χωρῆσαι ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. (From Pericles' first  
speech, 1.140.1)

As shown by the very first incident, the Thebans' attempt to capture Plataea (2.2–6), not everything in warfare runs according to plan. The invaders have the advantage of surprise and inside help, but misplaced clemency, bad weather, lateness at crucial moments and treachery by the enemy turn their bold plan into a pathetic misadventure.

The Athenians' ability to capitalise on luck (as well as their naval superiority) is the main theme of Phormio's naval confrontations with the Spartans, narrated at length in 2.80–92.

*iii. Extending the war to distant lands*

κίνησις ... αὕτη μέγιστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ  
τῶν βαρβάρων. (1.1.2)

One of Thucydides' reasons for writing of the war was its wide reach; it polarised not only the most distant and marginally Greek tribes in the north-west and north-east (Acarnanians and Macedonians), but also outright barbarians like the Epirotes and the Thracians. Thucydides gives special attention to campaigns in these areas, and occasionally offers ethnographic digressions on their peoples (96–7 on Thrace, 99–100 on Macedonia) and on their mythical con-



nections to Greece (Teres 29.3; Temenos 99.3; Alcmeon 102.5-6 - all evidently drawn from contemporary tragedy).

iv. *The soul of Athens*

ἔστι γὰρ ψυχὴ πόλεως οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ πολιτεία, τοσαύτην ἔχουσα δύναμιν ὅσηνπερ ἐν σώματι φρόνησις. (Isocrates, *Areopagiticus* 14)

The Greeks were firm believers in a link between nationality, government and character,<sup>58</sup> and Sparta provided the most famous illustration. One of Thucydides' main concerns in Book 1 (especially in the speech of the Corinthians, 1.70) was to paint an equally vivid portrait of the national character of Athens, and that task is completed by the Funeral Oration (2.34-47.2), which departs from the traditional pattern of the *epitaphios* to concentrate almost entirely on the glorification of *contemporary* Athens.

As Dionysius of Halicarnassus noted (*De Thuc.* 18), it is oddly placed after the first year's fighting, in which casualties were few; yet this is the last occasion on which it could have been delivered, since it portrays the Athens of the 430s at the height of its wealth, power and confidence. With the advent of the plague a few months later and the death of Pericles in 428 begins the diminution of the city which, though not yet fatal (2.65.12), at least reverses its rise. The juxtaposition of both these losses with the *epitaphios* is surely intentional, since the entire effect of the plague is described in its first year (in fact it was spread out over *four* years), and Pericles is removed from the scene (2.65.6) a full year before he actually died.

v. *The plague*

τά τε πρότερον ... σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισμῶν τε πέρι ... ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις ... αὖχμοί τε ... καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασσα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασσα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος. (Thuc. 1.23.3)

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Isocr. *Panathen.* 138; Plato, *Menex.* 238C1; T. J. Andersson, *Polis and psyche* (Stockholm 1971); and introd. n. to 2.40.

Pericles minimises the effect of the plague on the overall progress of the war (2.61.3–4, 64.1–2), and when Thucydides writes as a strategist (65.6–13) he is so far in agreement as not even to mention it. As a reporter of the disease his tone is quite different, and he even increases the horror by concentrating the sufferings of three years into one discrete and comprehensive essay, starting with the possible origins of the disease and his own aims in describing it, then offering a careful account of all its symptoms and discussing its psychological effects on the individual and the family. The first part has been admired for its wealth of medical observations, but even more significant (and influential) is the second, which raises for the first time issues – the ethical dilemma of treatment for victims of a contagious disease, the breakdown of authority and social restraints, the religious hysteria of some and the despairing nihilism of others – which will dominate plague literature from antiquity through Defoe's *Journal of the plague year* to Camus' *La Peste*.

vi. *Pericles' legacy*

ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου  
ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. (Thuc. 2.65.9)

Despite the absence of personal detail,<sup>59</sup> Thucydides' portrait of Pericles reveals a leader unique in the history of Athens. His combination of intellect, patriotism, persuasive speech and incorruptibility provides a standard by which all subsequent politicians can be judged and found wanting (65.10), and his consistent, reasoned control of the passionate Athenian δῆμος prefigures the governance of spirit by reason in the Platonic soul.<sup>60</sup> The optimism for Athens expressed in the Funeral Oration, and in the judgement that its resources were sufficient to bear any disaster if only unity could be restored (65.10–13), are based on the achievement of Pericles.<sup>61</sup> Thucydides possessed an equally vivid sense of the tragedies of war – the overconfidence, mistakes, missed opportunities and bad luck of the Sicilian expedition – but they derive from Athens' subsequent leadership.

<sup>59</sup> See 2.13n. and Westlake, *Individuals* 23–42.

<sup>60</sup> See 2.60.5–61.3nn.

<sup>61</sup> De Romilly, 'L'optimisme de Thucydide'.

## 4. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

It is the language of Thucydides' history that paints for its readers the most vivid intellectual portrait of its author: it reveals, for instance, that he insists on examining emotions, thoughts and actions as far as possible in isolation from the individuals who engage in them; constructs elaborate (and sometimes unconvincing) patterns of parallel ideas; and rejects any form of expression that is facile or commonplace. Athens of the later fifth century was a hothouse of linguistic innovation,<sup>62</sup> and in different ways he owes something to both Antiphon and Gorgias;<sup>63</sup> but although he began from their experiments, Thucydides alone created a personal style to match his subject. After some general information, we shall consider here primarily those techniques of language which combine to set him apart from other writers of Greek prose.<sup>64</sup>

i. *Dialect*

Thucydides writes standard Attic Greek of the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C., except that he uses the Ionic forms -ρσ- for -ρρ- (e.g., ἄρσην), -σσ- for -ττ- (e.g., θάλασσα) and ἦν for ἔάν; he also uses the earlier Attic forms ἐς (for εἰς) and ξύν (for σύν).<sup>65</sup>

ii. *Narrative tenses*

Like several other historians, Thucydides uses narrative tenses with more variety than standard Greek usage would allow;<sup>66</sup> in addition to

<sup>62</sup> See especially the studies on tragedy: A. A. Long, *Language and thought in Sophocles* (London 1968); Wilhelm Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der euripideischen Lyrik* (Tübinger Beiträge 20, Stuttgart 1934).

<sup>63</sup> See especially Denniston's sketch of Attic prose from Gorgias to Thucydides, *Greek prose style* 8–22; also J. H. Finley, 'The origins of Thucydides' style', *Three essays on Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass. 1967) 55–117.

<sup>64</sup> The most thoroughly documented account is in Schmid 181–204. An immense amount of bibliography is usefully summarised in the notes to W. Kendrick Pritchett's translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Thucydides* (Berkeley 1975); Dionysius' other relevant treatise, *On the peculiarities of Thucydides* (also known as 'The second letter to Ammaeus') is translated with notes by W. Rhys Roberts, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: three literary letters* (Cambridge 1901).

<sup>65</sup> B. Rosenkranz, 'Der lokale Grundton und die persönliche Eigenart in der Sprache des Thukydides und der älteren attischen Redner', *I.F.* 48 (1930) 127–78.

<sup>66</sup> Arvid Svensson, *Zum Gebrauch der erzählenden Tempora im Griechischen* (Lund 1930). Possibly related is the mixture of 'timeless' present, imperfect and aorist in some narratives of archaic poetry (West on Hes. *Theog.* 7).

the historical present, the imperfect occurs in many instances which would seem to require the aorist. Sometimes this phenomenon can be tied to verbs with distinct meanings, such as sending and commanding (Sm. 1891; Classen-Steup on 1.26.1, cf. 2.6.1, 10.1, 12.1-2, 85.2), or to verbs of saying (13 *passim*, 34.8); but there are other cases which resist classification (56.2, cf. Sm. 1898-9; K-G 1.143.3).

### iii. Abstract nouns

Much more than earlier writers (and to a greater degree even than his contemporaries) Thucydides prefers abstract subjects;<sup>67</sup> as a result he must greatly expand his stock of abstract nouns, which he accomplishes especially by two methods.

(1) He employs or creates *verbal derivatives* in -σις and -μα.<sup>68</sup> Almost any page will produce examples, and from the Funeral Oration alone there are: 35.2 δόκησις, 35.3 βούλησις, 36.4 ἐπιτήδευσις, 37.1 ἀξίωσις, 37.3 ἀκρόασις, 38.2 τέρψις, 39.1 ἀσκησις, 39.3 ἐπίπεμψις, 41.1 παίδευσις, 42.4 ἀπόλαυσις, 43.6 κάκωσις, 44.3 τέκνωσις, 45.2 παραίνεσις, 37.1 ἀξίωμα, 39.1 μάθημα and θέαμα, 40.4 ὀφείλημα.

(2) He uses neuter adjectives and participles as abstract substantives:<sup>69</sup> 38.1 τὸ λυπηρόν ('anxiety'), 43.4 τὸ εὐδαιμον ('happiness'), 64.6 τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ('immediate effort'); 1.142.8 τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ('lack of practice'); 2.61.2 τὸ λυποῦν ('grief').

The second tendency is sometimes taken even farther, when an adjective or participle is converted into a neuter substantive followed by a noun as dependent genitive,<sup>70</sup> thus effectively reversing the normal relation between substantive and attribute:

τὸ αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ('shameful reputation' 42.4)

τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ('future success, which is uncertain' 42.4)

τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ('useless [old] age' 44.4)

<sup>67</sup> Denniston, *Greek prose style* 24-40; Adam Parry, 'Thucydides' use of abstract language'. *Yale French Studies* 45 (1970) 3-20.

<sup>68</sup> E. G. Sihler, 'On the verbal abstract nouns in -σις in Thucydides', *T.A.P.A.* 12 (1881) 96-104; R. Browning, 'Greek abstract nouns in -sis, -tis', *Philologus* 102 (1958) 60-73; Long, *Language and thought in Sophocles, passim*. On Thucydides' other neologisms see Schmid 186-190.

<sup>69</sup> See Denniston, *Greek prose style* 36-7; Sm. 2051; Pritchett 92 n. 32.

<sup>70</sup> Sm. 1025; K-G 1.267-8.

τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώτης 'their angry attitude' 59.3 .

τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώτης 'your weak resolution' 61.2

τῆς ... πόλεως ... τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν 'the city, which is prestigious because of its empire' 63.1 .

τῆς γνώτης τὸ μὴ κατα κράτος νικηθῆναι 'our resolution, which was not utterly defeated' 87.3

τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον 'unshakeable resolve' 89.6

Accompanying the increase in abstract nouns is a preference for lengthy attributive phrases, e.g. 37.2 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν 'suspicion about each other's daily activities' ., 39.1 τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ 'our innate physical courage' ; cf. 16.1, 39.3, 62.1.

#### iv. Sentence-structure: varieties of antithesis

Thucydides notoriously avoids predictability in the elaboration of his thoughts (see on *variatio* below) ; but this is much less true of their overall arrangement; in fact, in giving order to his ideas on the broadest level, he might be said to employ persistently a limited number of sentence structures.

His penchant for expressing ideas through contrast is so strong that the traditional μέν/δέ will not suffice;<sup>71</sup> he also converts structures which are better known for other purposes into new varieties of antithesis. The most striking is the elevation of τε to a basic particle of sentence-co-ordination, either singly (to introduce a summary, 8.1, 41.1, 47.4, 59.2, 63.3, *GP* 500), with καί (39.1 τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν ... καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις, 41.1 τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, *GP* 515; even of alternatives, see on 35.1), with another τε (7.1, 84.3, 35.2 ὁ τε γὰρ ξυνειδώς ... ὁ τε ἄπειρος, cf. δέ ... τε ... τε in 51.2),<sup>72</sup> or even in elaborate tripartite statements:<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> For some transitions effected through contrasts see nn. on 37.1, 46.1, 49.1. On the contrast between λόγος and ἔργον see 40.1 n.; for false antitheses with μέν/δέ see nn. on 42.4, 46.1.

<sup>72</sup> Also οὔτε (μήτε) ... τε 1.1, 39.2, 65.2, cf. 5.5, 29.3. For other uses see 8.4n., and Bruno Hammer, *De τε particulae usu Herodoteo Thucydideo Xenophonteo* (diss. Leipzig 1904).

<sup>73</sup> *GP* 504-5; Rusten, *C.Q.* 35 (1985) 15 n. 4. Cf. the sequence δέ ... τε ... τε ... τε 52-3.1.

οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτούς ... τὴν τε τῶν πέλας ... ἀθρόαι  
τε τῇι δυνάμει (39.2)

φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ ... πλούτῳ τε ... ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ... (40.1)

οὔτε γὰρ ἱατροὶ ἤρκουν ... οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεῖα τέχνη ... ὅσα τε  
πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν ... (47.4)

Another form of contrast found repeatedly is negative-positive statement in various patterns (x represents the proposition to be accepted, y the one rejected):<sup>74</sup>

- (a) 'not y, but x' (with ἀλλά, e.g. 40.2 τὸν ... μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν 'anyone who takes no part in these [civic affairs] we consider not "unpolitical", but useless').
- (b) 'not y, but x' (with δέ, e.g. 43.1 οὐκ ... τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προιέμενοι 'not consenting to deny the city their support, but granting her the fairest contribution of all').
- (c) with μᾶλλον in the second term ('not y, but rather x', e.g. 43.1 σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν ... ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐργῳ θεωμένους 'examining the benefit [of defending the city] not in a single speech ... but rather studying daily the city's power in action').
- (d) with μᾶλλον in the first term ('not y rather, but x', e.g. 43.2 τὸν τάφον ἐπιστημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα ... καταλείπεται 'a tomb that is most glorious, not rather the one in which they are buried, but the one in which their glory lives on').

The seemingly endless juxtaposition of alternatives in Thucydides by grammatical comparison – 'x rather than y' – is not to be taken literally to imply a mere preference, but as an emphatic acceptance of x and a complete rejection of y.<sup>75</sup> There are two forms: (1) 'x rather

<sup>74</sup> Also called the σχῆμα κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν. For details see Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 51–2; Ros 145–7; K–G II.586.

<sup>75</sup> A sense frequent in Antiphon also, and found already in Aesch. *Ag.* 1591 (of Atreus' banquet for Thyestes): προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως ... παρέσχε δαῖτα. See Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 53–5, and for an exhaustive study Otto Schwab, *Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison in der klassischen Literatur* (Vol. IV in M. Schanz, ed., *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*, Würzburg 1893) 68–80.

than  $\gamma$ ' (e.g. 40.1 πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῶι ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα 'we use wealth as an opportunity for action rather than something about which to speak boastfully') and (2) 'not  $\gamma$  rather than  $\chi$ ' (e.g. 41.2 καὶ ὥς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἔστιν ἀλήθεια αὐτῇ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως ... σημαίνει 'and that these statements are not a momentary verbal boast rather than factual truth, the power itself of the city makes clear').<sup>76</sup>

*v. Sentence-structure: 'open-ended expansion'*<sup>77</sup>

Readers of Demosthenes and Cicero have been taught to admire above all a sentence-structure that attains grammatical completeness only with its concluding words. When he wishes, Thucydides can employ this structure, e.g. in the lengthy sentence on the tyrannicides in 1.20.2, or the description of the final thoughts of the Athenian soldiers before they died in 2.42.4, which close respectively with the dramatic verbs ἀπέκτειναν and ἀπηλλάγησαν.<sup>78</sup>

But the most frequent form of structural elaboration in the work shows a different approach, seen fully developed in the opening sentence:

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀρξάμενος εὐθύς καθισταμένου καὶ ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέρωι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο

<sup>76</sup> Negative-positive and comparative formulations can even be joined in statements like 37.1 (οὐ ζηλούσῃ ... παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον ... ἢ μιμούμενοι = 'not  $\gamma$ , but  $\chi$  rather than  $\gamma$ ') or, as an extreme example, 1.10.3: οὐκ οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην ... 'therefore one should not be sceptical, nor examine the appearance of cities rather than their power, but believe that expedition [the Trojan War] to have been the greatest ...' = 'therefore neither  $\gamma^1$ , nor  $\gamma^2$  rather than  $\chi^2$ , but  $\chi^1$ ').

<sup>77</sup> Denniston (*Greek prose style* 66-7) calls this the 'loose periodic structure', Blass (*Die attische Beredsamkeit* 1.219) the 'descending period' (*absteigende Periode*). Demetrius, περὶ ἑρμηνείας 19-21, may have it in mind when he separates the 'historical period' from the rhetorical and philosophical ones; but Thucydides uses it mostly in speeches.

<sup>78</sup> Two other long sentences with this structure, 1.2.2 and 1.9.2, are criticised for this very reason by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On the peculiarities of Thucydides* 15).

Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον.

According to strict grammar, the structure is complete in the first nine words. But for the thought this is only a point of departure, since ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον is qualified first with an indirect question, then with a series of nominative participles (ἀρξάμενος ... καὶ ἐλπίσας, τεκμαιρόμενος ... τε ... καὶ ὄρων, all only superficially parallel); these in turn lead to subordinate clauses of three different types (μέγαν ... ἔσεσθαι, ὅτι ... ἦσαν, τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ... ξυνιστάμενον), of which the last stubbornly refuses to succumb without a final antithesis. The impression is that of an initially simple idea gradually overwhelmed by the complex circumstances behind it – just the opposite of the period which achieves perfection with its final word.

This open-ended expansion is adopted by Thucydides in the most elaborate and ambitious sentences of Book 2. For example, in 64.3 an initial verb governs one subordinate clause which in turn develops into another, and this in turn introduces still one more – each clause is grammatically subordinate, but introduces new ideas of equal weight with the main verb; in 41.4 a verb is expanded with four participles in an elaborate antithetical structure; and in 43.1 an accusative + infinitive is elaborated with four accusative participles, the last of which introduces four more nominative participles before the thought is brought to a close. (For all these see nn. ad locc.)

#### vi. Variatio

The most famous characteristic of Thucydides' style is his frequent and deliberate avoidance of detailed grammatical parallelism, which it is customary to call (not quite accurately) μεταβολή or *variatio*.<sup>79</sup> The ways he can find to express logically parallel ideas with grammatically distinct constructions have been exhaustively catalogued<sup>80</sup> and are often discussed in the commentary, so that here a very few examples

<sup>79</sup> These terms and others (e.g. ποικιλία) certainly refer to variety; but ancient critics (e.g. [Longinus], *De subl.* 23.1, and even Dion. Hal. *De Thuc.* 53) apply them only to other authors and less eccentric techniques of variation. For Thucydides' brand of it – *pace* Ros (next n.) 49–72 – their lack of critical terminology matched their lack of admiration.

<sup>80</sup> J. G. A. Ros, *Die μεταβολή (variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides*; Gösta Ottervik, *Die Koordination inkonzinner Glieder in der attischen Prosa* (Lund 1943).



will suffice: 36.4 ἀπό δὲ οἴας ... καὶ μεθ' οἴας ... καὶ ἐξ οἴων (where all three prepositional phrases express the same idea); 44.2 λύπη οὐκ ὦν ... ἀλλ' οὐ; 44.3 ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείαι (both causal); 42.4 τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν ... τὸ ἐνδόντες σώιζεσθαι; 40.2 οὐ τοὺς λόγους βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι (the noun λόγους is parallel to the infinitive); 37.1 χρώμεθα ... πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούσῃ ... παράδειγμα δ' αὐτοὶ ὄντες (the contrasting words are in different cases). Often καὶ joins grammatically dissimilar elements, e.g. 11.1, 25.1, 28.1, 62.4; co-ordinating particles (μέν/δέ, τε/τε) may be followed by dissimilar verb forms (5.5, 29.3, 47.3).<sup>81</sup>

### vii. Figures of speech

*Litotes* intensifies an idea by the negation of its opposite, e.g. 34.6 μὴ ἀξύνετος, 36.2 οὐκ ἀπόνως, 36.4 οὐκ ... ἀπρεπῇ, 37.3 μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, 40.2 μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινῶναι, 48.3 μὴ ἀγνοεῖν.<sup>82</sup>

*Oxymoron* is the pointed juxtaposition of normally contradictory words or statements, e.g. 39.1 νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, 45.2 μεγάλη ἡ δόξα ... ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ... κλέος ᾗ.<sup>83</sup>

*Polyptoton* is the repetition of a word in different cases, usually placed together: 64.3 Ἑλλήνων ... Ἕλληνες, 64.5 ἕτεροι ἐτέρων, 51.1 ἐτέρω πρὸς ἕτερον.<sup>84</sup>

### viii. Word order

The most striking feature of Thucydidean word order is the displacement of logically cohering words for emphasis, called *hyperbaton*.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> This sort of variation (unexpected elements within a clearly co-ordinated overall structure) is studied separately by Wilhelm Lüdtke, *Untersuchungen zum Satzbau des Thukydides: das sogenannte Anakoluth* (diss. Kiel 1930).

<sup>82</sup> See in general K-G 1.25, II.180; Sm. 3032, 2694 (litotes in English does not always aim at the same effect). Thucydides may have viewed this device as an abbreviated form of negative-positive contrast (see under 'varieties of antithesis' above), e.g. οὐχ ἥκιστα compared with 7.44.6 μέγιστον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐβλάψε.

<sup>83</sup> Schmid 196 n. 4, 197 n. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Sm. 3028d; B. Gygli-Wyss, *Das nominale Polyptoton* (Göttingen 1966).

<sup>85</sup> See especially Denniston, *Greek prose style* 47-59 and (with examples from Plato) Riddell, *Digest* §§287-303. Older, more specialised studies include F. Darpe, *De verborum apud Thucydidem collocatione* (diss. Münster 1865), H. Scheiding, *De hyperbato Thucydideo* (Gymnasialprogramm Jauer, 1867), and the introduction (xxxi-xliii) to the commentary on Thucydides 6 by A. W. Spratt (Cambridge 1905).

Word order can be manipulated in a variety of ways,<sup>86</sup> but most common is emphatic initial position: see nn. on 40.1 (πλούτῳ τε ... καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι ~ 42.4 οὔτε πλούτου ... οὔτε πενίας), 11.6 (ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν), 43.1 (πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας). Emphatic final position occurs also, especially for verbs, e.g. 39.2 κρατοῦμεν, 42.4 ἀπηλλάγησαν, 63.3 ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.

Sometimes shifts of several words to emphatic positions produce the appearance of a deliberate interlacing of two groups, e.g.:<sup>87</sup>

τόν τε πλέονα κέρδος ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε βίον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχύν  
ἔσεσθαι (44.4 = ἡγεῖσθε τόν τε πλέονα βίον, ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε, (γε-  
νέσθαι) κέρδος, καὶ τόνδε ἔσεσθαι βραχύν)

εἰκός τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίωνα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ  
τοσούτου ἐπ' ὠφελίαι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν  
ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ (29.3 = εἰκός τε καὶ Πανδίωνα ξυνάψ-  
ασθαι τὸ κῆδος τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπ' ὠφελίαι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ  
τοσούτου μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ ὁδοῦ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας)

One other distortion of word order unrelated to emphasis is the placement of a dependent genitive between a preposition and a genitive object: 13.2 ἀπὸ τούτων ... τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου, 42.4 δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ('through the luck of the briefest instant'), cf. 29.3 (just quoted).<sup>88</sup>

## 5. THE TEXT

### i. Earliest transmission

As we have seen (Introduction part 1) there is considerable disagreement over the manner in which Thucydides' work was composed; equal uncertainty surrounds the question of its publication. The Thucydidean *Nachlaß* must have been assembled and made public by an

<sup>86</sup> E.g. in 4.4 (οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν ἐξήλθον οὐ πολλοί) the order of words seems to reflect the sequence of events.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. 39.2, 49.5; Denniston, *Greek prose style* 54 (where Thucydides ought to be included).

<sup>88</sup> The same order outside prepositional phrases at 19.2, 60.4 (see Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 69-70).

editor of some sort, and Diogenes Laertius 2.57 tells us that this was Xenophon, the military man and historian who continued the story of Thucydides' war in his *Hellenica*. This is very plausible – *too* plausible, in fact, to be of evidential value, and it must be treated as a speculation of hellenistic biography.<sup>89</sup> There are, however, other features which may indicate Xenophon's contribution: the break in the *Hellenica* at the point (2.3.10) where Thucydides' war ends, and the corresponding absence of even the roughest notes in Thucydides for the years covered by Xenophon (410–404); also the language of the second preface (5.26), where Thucydides is mentioned in the third person, the writer in the first.<sup>90</sup>

## ii. Study and annotation

Regardless of how it was composed or released, Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*<sup>91</sup> was an immediate sensation; no less than three historians of note wrote works that could be considered continuations<sup>92</sup> and, without mentioning him by name, Plato shows an intimate acquaintance.<sup>93</sup> Ancient interest in his work continued unabated thereafter: literary researchers like Didymus, atticising rhetoricians like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, historians like Appian and Dio Cassius all had their reasons for knowing him well. The abundant medieval scholia are relatively disappointing, being largely concerned with rhetoric and vocabulary;<sup>94</sup> but the commentary on 2.1–45 in P. Oxy. 6. 853 (of the

<sup>89</sup> For the distinction see Introd. 1 above.

<sup>90</sup> See especially L. Canfora, *Tucidide continuato* (Padua 1970), 'Storia antica del testo di Tucidide', *Quaderni di storia* 3 (1977) 3–40 and Dover, *HCT* v.431–44.

<sup>91</sup> If we call it the ἱστορίαι after Herodotus (as most manuscripts do) we err in using a word he sedulously avoided; see Nicole Loraux, 'Thucydide a écrit la guerre du Péloponnèse', *MHTIS* 1987, 139–61.

<sup>92</sup> Xenophon (*Hellenica* 1–2.3.10); Theopompus of Chios (*Hellenic Histories*; *FGrHist* 115 F 5–23, W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-century Athens*, Washington 1968); and Cratippus of Athens (*FGrHist* 64 F 1).

<sup>93</sup> For these and other reactions to his work in the 4th century see Schmid, *Geschichte* 208–10. Most striking is *Republic* 8.560c–d as a reminiscence of Thucydides 3.82.4–5, and the obvious dependence of *Menexenus* on Pericles' Funeral Oration. For Thucydides and Plato see especially M. Pohlenz, *Platons Werdezeit* (Berlin 1913) 238–56, and the notes on the Funeral Oration (37.1–2, 38, 40.1–2, 41.1). How Wilamowitz ('Thukydideslegende' 8) can speak of a 'century of neglect' for Thucydides is a mystery to me.

<sup>94</sup> Karl Hude, *Scholia in Thucydidem* (Leipzig 1927).

2nd century after Christ) is learned enough to show that Thucydides was studied and annotated already by the great scholars of Alexandria in the third and second centuries B.C.<sup>95</sup> Numerous papyrus fragments of the text attest to interest in Thucydides in Egypt over nearly a millennium (the earliest is third century B.C., the latest fifth–sixth century A.D.).

### iii. *Manuscripts*

The medieval manuscripts of Thucydides were split roughly into two families after the ninth century,<sup>96</sup> and study of the apparatus in most passages will reveal variations occurring between the manuscripts CG on the one hand, and ABEFM on the other. But there are numerous 'openings' in this recension, i.e. places where additional sources must be postulated to account for readings in a single manuscript, or in two otherwise unrelated ones. For example, after 6.92.5 B seems to be copied from a text independent of either of the two families; G has individual readings from a source different from C; and many of the *recentiores* (manuscripts later than the thirteenth century, which ought to be entirely derivative) preserve independent readings, the most striking being τῇ ἄλλῃ διανοίᾳ at 1.2.2, found as a variant in a Paris manuscript of the fourteenth century and otherwise only in a papyrus fragment of the third century B.C.<sup>97</sup>

There is also an indirect tradition consisting of quotations of the text by critics (especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus),<sup>98</sup> imitations of it by imperial historians,<sup>99</sup> and the translation of it into Latin made in 1448–52 by Lorenzo Valla.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> See O. Luschat, 'Die Thukydidescholien', *Philologus* 98 (1954) 14–58 (especially 22ff.); R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1968) 225.

<sup>96</sup> For the sigla of these manuscripts and their dates see the *praefatio* to the edition of Books 1–2 by Alberti, and A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydides-textes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965).

<sup>97</sup> P. Hamburg 163; see E. G. Turner, 'Two unrecognized Ptolemaic papyri', *J.H.S.* 76 (1956) 96–8 (for a photograph see Turner, *Greek manuscripts of the ancient world* (Oxford 1971) no. 54). Dover (*Thucydides* 7) quite rightly finds this remarkable, but might also have noted that the new reading is nonsense.

<sup>98</sup> See Pritchett, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Thucydides*, *Introd.* pp. xvi–xviii.

<sup>99</sup> For bibliography see Schmid, *Geschichte* 214.

<sup>100</sup> F. Ferlauto, *Il testo di Tuciddide e la traduzione latino di Lorenzo Valla* (Palermo 1979). For Valla as a textual critic see also R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship* II (Oxford 1976) 35–41.

*iv. Conjectural emendation*

In dealing with an author as difficult as Thucydides it might be a comfort to posit widespread textual corruption, and to hope for aid from new papyri or the ingenuity of modern scholars. But the scope for such improvements in the text appears very limited:<sup>101</sup> ancient critics blamed 'Thucydides' obscurity on the man himself rather than his manuscripts (and cited many of the same passages which we find challenging); and the numerous papyri contribute few new readings of any value (compared with papyri of other authors like Euripides or Isocrates), suggesting that the text was relatively stable at an early date.

But *two types of errors* are relatively widely assumed, as follows.

(1) '*Doublets*', where a variant reading or gloss has been written in the margin and then inserted into the text not *instead* of the alternative, but *alongside* it. Such a process explains the text at 9.4 and 43.6 (where see nn.);

(2) *Numbers* in prose texts are assumed to be especially subject to corruption, since they might once have been written as numerals; e.g. in 2.2.1 (Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος) Krüger would read τέσσαρας, assuming that an original numeral δ' was mistakenly expanded to δύο rather than τέσσαρας. Virtually every important number in the text of Book 2 has been questioned in this way on historical grounds, but it has never been demonstrated that numerals ever *were* used extensively in prose texts. Recent work has tended toward accepting even somewhat surprising numbers (see nn. on 2.1, 7.2, 13.3-5; but cf. 75.3n.) unless there is other evidence of corruption; but a study of the numbers in the earliest papyri of prose authors might prove illuminating.<sup>102</sup>

*v. Modern editions and commentaries*

The text printed here is based on the full reports of readings in the first volume of Alberti (Rome 1972; only this volume has as yet appeared) and Luschkat's 2nd edition of Books 1 and 2 (Leipzig 1960). For a

<sup>101</sup> In particular Gomme's commentary on Book 2 often combines an admirable acuity in describing difficult passages with an unjustified readiness to rewrite them.

<sup>102</sup> See Sterling Dow, *T.A.P.A.* 92 (1961) 67 n. 3.

brief apparatus and a list of departures from the Oxford Classical Text (ed. H. Stuart Jones and J. E. Powell) see the Appendix.

The fullest and most useful commentaries are those of Krüger, Poppo-Stahl, Classen-Steup, and Gomme, *HCT*, and the *notes complémentaires* in the edition and translation of de Romilly (for details see the bibliography); others useful for Book 2 are by R. Shilleto (Books 1-2, Cambridge 1872-80), T. Arnold (Books 1-8, 3rd ed. Oxford 1847), Franz Müller (2.1-65, Paderborn 1886), E. C. Marchant (Book 2, London 1891), G. Böhme (rev. by S. Widmann, Books 1-8, 5th-6th ed. Leipzig 1894), W. A. Lamberton (Books 2-3, New York 1905) and the notes in the translation of B. Jowett (Oxford 1881).

ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ  
ΤΩΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΩΝ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ  
ΕΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Β





# ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ Β

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- 1 Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις συμμαχῶν, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμείγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεῖ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε συνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν.
- Γέγραπται δὲ ἐξῆς ὥς ἕκαστα ἐγίνετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ
- 2 χειμῶνα· τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούταις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει τότε πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων (ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν βοιωταρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου) ἐσῆλθον περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ζύν ὅπλοις ἐς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας οὔσαν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίδα. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέωixαν τὰς πύλας Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες, Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι ἰδίας ἐνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν
- 3 Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι. ἐπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου, ἀνδρὸς Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου. προιδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν αἰεὶ σφίσι διάφορον οὔσαν ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μήπω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος προκαταλαβεῖν. ἦ καὶ ῥᾶιον ἔλαθον ἐσελ-
- 4 θόντες, φυλακῆς οὐ προκαθεστηκυίας. θέμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ὥστε εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, γνώμην δ' ἐποι-οῦντο κηρύγμασί τε χρήσασθαι ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ ἐς ζύμβασιν μᾶλλον καὶ φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ κῆρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν συμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα, νομίζοντες σφίσι ῥαιδίως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ προσχωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν.

- 3 Οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὡς ἤισθοντο ἔνδον τε ὄντας τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ  
 ἑξαπιναίως κατειλημμένην τὴν πόλιν, καταδείσαντες καὶ νομί-  
 σαντες πολλῶι πλείους ἐσεληλυθέναι (οὐ γὰρ ἑώρων ἐν τῇ  
 νυκτί) πρὸς ζύμβασιν ἐχώρησαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι  
 2 ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον.  
 πράσσοντες δὲ πῶς ταῦτα κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαί-  
 ους ὄντας καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαιδίως κρατῆσαι· τῶι γὰρ  
 3 πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφί-  
 στασθαι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι, καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσ-  
 στοντες τοὺς κοινούς τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν  
 ὁδῶν φανεροὶ ᾧσιν ἰόντες, ἀμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐς τὰς  
 ὁδοὺς καθίστασαν, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐξήρτυον ἥ  
 4 ἕκαστον ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ζύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ὡς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐτοῖμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ  
 περίορθρον ἐχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ κατὰ  
 φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὔσι προσφέροντο καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου  
 γίνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτί φοβερώτεροι ὄντες ἥσους ᾧσι τῆς  
 σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. προσέβαλόν τε εὐθύς καὶ  
 ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος.
- 4 Οἱ δ' ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἐξηπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε ἐν σφίσιν  
 2 αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ἥι προσπίπτοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο. καὶ δις  
 μὲν ἢ τρίς ἀπεκρούσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῶι θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε  
 προσβαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν  
 οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρωμένων λίθοις τε καὶ κεράμῳι  
 βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπιγενομένου,  
 ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἄπειροι  
 μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῶι τῶν διόδων ἥι χρή  
 σωθῆναι (καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν),  
 ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, ὥστε  
 3 διεφθείροντο [οἱ] πολλοί. τῶν δὲ Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ἥι  
 ἐσῆλθον καὶ αἵπερ ἦσαν μόναι ἀνεωιγμέναι ἐκκληισε στυρακίῳι  
 ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν, ὥστε μηδὲ  
 ταύτη ἐξοδὸν ἔτι εἶναι.
- 4 Διωκόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
 ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ

- πλείους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί (αἰσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο), ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως
- 5 σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἶκημα μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ πλήσιον θύραι ἀνεωιγμένοι ἐτυχον αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι πύλας τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἰκήματος εἶναι καὶ ἀντικρυς δίοδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω.
- 6 ὁρῶντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἀπειλημένους ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἶκημα, εἴτε τι
- 7 ἄλλο χρήσωνται. τέλος δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πλανώμενοι, ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παραδοῦναι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα χρήσασθαι ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται.
- 5 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταίᾳ οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Θηβαῖοι, οὓς ἔδει ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς παραγενέσθαι πανστρατιάι, εἴ τι ἄρα μὴ προχωροίη τοῖς ἐσεληλυθόσι, τῆς ἀγγελίας ἅμα καθ'
- 2 ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ῥηθείσης περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἐπεβοήθουν. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Πλάταια τῶν Θηβῶν σταδίους ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ γεγόμενον τῆς νυκτὸς ἐποίησε βραδύτερον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ἐρρῦη μέγας καὶ οὐ ῥαιδίως διαβατὸς ἦν.
- 3 πορευόμενοί τε ἐν ὑετῶι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν μόλις διαβάντες ὕστερον παρεγένοντο, ἤδη τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν μὲν διεφθαρμένων, τῶν
- 4 δὲ ζώντων ἔχομένων. ὥς δ' ἦισθοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ γεγενημένον, ἐπεβούλευον τοῖς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τῶν Πλαταιῶν. (ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς καὶ κατασκευή, οἷα ἀπροσδοκήτου κακοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γενομένου.) ἐβούλοντο γὰρ σφίσιν, εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ὑπάρχειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐνδον, ἣν ἄρα τύχασί τινες ἐζωγρη-
- 5 μένοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διανοοῦντο, οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ἔτι διαβουλεύομένων αὐτῶν ὑποτοπήσαντες τοιοῦτόν τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ δείσαντες περὶ τοῖς ἔξω κήρυκα ἐξέπεμψαν παρὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους, λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτε τὰ πεποιημένα ὅσια δράσειαν ἐν σπονδαῖς σφῶν πειράσαντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν, τὰ τε ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐ-
- 6 τοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀποκτενεῖν οὓς ἔχουσι ζῶντας· ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῆς
- 6 γῆς ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀνδρας. (Θηβαῖοι μὲν ταῦτα λέγουσι

- καὶ ἐπομόσαι φασὶν αὐτούς· Πλαταιῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας εὐθύς ὑποσχέσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ λόγων πρῶτον  
 7 γενομένων ἦν τι συμβαίνωσι, καὶ ἐπομόσαι οὐ φασιν.) ἐκ δ' οὖν  
 τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντες· οἱ δὲ Πλα-  
 ταιῆς ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας κατὰ τάχος ἐσεκομίσαντο, ἀπέ-  
 κτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς. ἦσαν δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν οἱ  
 6 ληφθέντες, καὶ Εὐρύμαχος εἰς αὐτῶν ἦν, πρὸς ὃν ἐπραξαν οἱ προ-  
 διδόντες. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔς τε τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀγγελον ἐπεμ-  
 πον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, τὰ  
 τε ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίσταντο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἢ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.
- 2 Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἡγγέλθη εὐθύς τὰ περὶ τῶν Πλαταιῶν  
 γεγενημένα, καὶ Βοιωτῶν τε παραχρῆμα ξυνέλαβον ὅσοι ἦσαν  
 ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ ἔς τὴν Πλάταιαν ἐπεμψαν κήρυκα, κελεύοντες  
 εἰπεῖν μηδὲν νεώτερον ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἔχουσι  
 3 Θηβαίων, πρὶν ἂν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ βουλευσῶσι περὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἡγγέλθη αὐτοῖς ὅτι τεθνηκότες εἶεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ἐσόδῳ γιγνο-  
 μένῃ τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγελος ἐξήκει, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἄρτι  
 νενικημένων τε καὶ ξυνειλημμένων· καὶ τῶν ὕστερον οὐδὲν ἤδε-  
 σαν. οὕτω δὴ οὐκ εἰδότες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέστελλον· ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ  
 4 ἀφικόμενος ἤνυρε τοὺς ἄνδρας διεφθαρμένους. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι στρατεύσαντες ἔς Πλάταιαν σῖτόν τε ἐσήγαγον καὶ  
 φρουροὺς ἐγκατέλιπον, τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους  
 ξύν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐξεκόμισαν.
- 7 Γεγενημένου δὲ τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργου καὶ λελυμένων  
 λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς πολε-  
 μήσοντες, παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι,  
 πρεσβείας τε μέλλοντες πέμπειν παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλοσε πρὸς  
 τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἴ ποθὲν τινα ὠφελίαν ἤλπιζον ἐκάτεροι προσ-  
 λήψεσθαι, πόλεις τε ξυμμαχίδας ποιούμενοι ὅσαι ἦσαν ἐκτὸς  
 2 τῆς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεως. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ  
 ὑπαρχούσαις ἔξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τάκείνων ἐλομένοις  
 ναῦς ἐπετάχθη ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων, ὥς ἐς τὸν  
 πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων νεῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀργύριον  
 ῥητὸν ἐτοιμάζειν, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχο-  
 3 μένους μιᾷ νηὶ ἕως ἂν ταῦτα παρασκευασθῇ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τήν

τε ὑπάρχουσαν συμμαχίαν ἐξήταζον καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Πελοπόννησον μᾶλλον χωρία ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Κέρκυραν καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Ζάκυνθον, ὁρῶντες, εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτ' εἴη βεβαίως, περίξ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταπολεμήσοντας.

- 8 Ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφοτέροι, ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπεικότης· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται, τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλή μὲν οὔσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλή δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἦπτετο τοῦ πολέμου, ἢ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλάς ἅπασα μετέωρος ἦν  
2 ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώτων πόλεων. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγοντο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἦιδον ἐν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ  
3 τούτων, πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημῆναι. εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτότροπον ξυνέβη γενέσθαι, πάντα ἀνεζητεῖτο.

- 4 Ἡ δὲ εὐνοία παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν. ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις εἴ τι δύναίτο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς· ἐν τούτῳ τε  
5 κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστωι τὰ πράγματα ὥι μή τις αὐτὸς παρ-  
ἔσται. οὕτως <ἐν> ὀργῇ εἶχον οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολυθῆναι βουλόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀρχθῶσι φοβούμενοι.

- 9 Παρασκευῇ μὲν οὖν καὶ γνώμῃ τοιαύτῃ ὥρμηντο, πόλεις δὲ ἑκάτεροι τάσδε ἔχοντες συμμαχοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.  
2 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἶδε ξύμμαχοι· Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν (τούτοις δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φίλια ἦν· Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες), ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου Μεγαρῆς, Βοιωτοί, Λοκροί, Φωκῆς, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι,  
3 Ἀνακτόριοι. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρῆς, Σικυῶνιοι, Πελληνῆς, Ἡλεῖοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἱππέας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆς, Λοκροί· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζὸν παρείχον.  
4 αὕτη μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχία· Ἀθηναίων δὲ Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Πλαταιῆς, Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Ἀκαρνάνων οἱ πλείους,

- Κερκυραῖοι, Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὔσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε· Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει, Δωριῆς Καρσί πρόσκοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θράικης, νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἡλίον ἀνίσχοντα πᾶσαι αἱ
- 5 ἄλλαι [Κυκλάδες] πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Φήρας. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεζὸν καὶ
- 6 χρήματα. Συμμαχία μὲν αὕτη ἐκατέρων καὶ παρασκευὴ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν.
- 10 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς εὐθὺς περιήγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἔξω συμμαχίδα στρατιὰν παρασκευάζεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον
- 2 ἐκδημον ἔχειν, ὥς ἐσβαλοῦντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκάστοις ἐτοῖμα γίγνοιτο, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν εἰρημένον ξυνῆισαν
- 3 τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ξυνειλεγμένον ἦν, Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῆς ἐξόδου ταύτης, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιωτάτους παρεῖναι τοιάδ' ἔλεξεν·
- 11 “ Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἔξω ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἄπειροι πολέμων εἰσίν· ὅμως δὲ τῆσδε οὕτω μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ
- 2 πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες. δίκαιον οὖν ἡμᾶς μήτε τῶν πατέρων χεῖρους φαίνεσθαι μήτε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἐνδεεστέρους. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλλάς πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ ὁρμῇ ἐπῆρται καὶ προσέχει τὴν γνώμην, εὐνοίαν ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔχθος
- 3 πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς ἃ ἐπινooῦμεν. οὐκ οὐν χρή, εἴ τωι καὶ δοκοῦμεν πλήθει ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμῖν διὰ μάχης, τούτων ἕνεκα ἀμελέστερόν τι παρασκευασμένους χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἐκάστης ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατιώτην τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ προσδέχεσθαι ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα
- 4 ἤξειν· ἄδηλα γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων, καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται.

“Πολλάκις τε τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος δεδιὸς ἄμεινον ἡμύνατο τοὺς



- 5 πλέοντας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκευάτους γενέσθαι. χρή δὲ αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρεσκευάσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέστατοι.
- 6 “Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν ἐρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄριστα παρεσκευασμένην, ὥστε χρή καὶ πάνυ ἐλπίζειν διὰ μάχης ἵεναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ὥρμηται ἐν ᾧ οὐπω πάρεσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς δηιοῦντάς τε
- 7 καὶ τὰκείνων φθείροντας. πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτικά ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἁηθες ὀργὴ προσπίπτει· καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλεῖστα ἐς ἔργον καθίσταν-
- 8 ται. Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ πλεόν τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, οἱ ἄρχειν τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι καὶ ἐπιόντες τὴν τῶν πέλας δηιοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν.
- 9 “Ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ἔπεσθ' ὅπῃ ἂν τις ἡγῇται, κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι· κάλλιστον γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον, πολλοὺς ὄντας ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι.”
- 12 Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τὸν ξύλλογον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος Μελήσιππον πρῶτον ἀποστέλλει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὸν Διακρίτου ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοῖεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
- 2 ὁρῶντες σφᾶς ἤδη ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας. οἱ δὲ οὐ προσεδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν· ἦν γὰρ Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα κήρυκα καὶ πρεσβείαν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεστρατευμένων· ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὄρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν, τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἦν τι βούλωνται, πρεσβεύεσθαι. συμπέμπουσί τε τῷ Μελησίππῳ
- 3 ἀγωγούς, ὅπως μηδενὶ συγγένηται. ὁ δ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμελλε διαλύσεσθαι, τοσόνδε εἰπὼν ἐπορεύετο ὅτι
- 4 “ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.” ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδέν

- πω ἐνδώσουσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἄρας τῷ στρατῷ προυχώρει ἐς τὴν  
 5 γῆν αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας  
 παρείχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ξυστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις ἐς  
 Πλάταιαν ἐλθόντες τὴν γῆν ἐδήριον.
- 13 Ἐτι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων συλλεγομένων τε ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν  
 καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Περικλῆς ὁ  
 Ξανθίππου στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτός, ὥς ἔγνω  
 τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐσομένην, ὑποτοπήσας, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ  
 ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς ἰδία βουλόμενος χαρί-  
 ζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ παραλίπηι καὶ μὴ δηιώσῃ, ἥ καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται  
 τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγῃ ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον ἕνεκα ἐκείνου,  
 προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν  
 οἱ ξένος εἶη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, τοὺς δὲ  
 ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας ἦν ἄρα μὴ δηιώσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι  
 ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀφίησιν αὐτὰ δημόσια εἶναι καὶ μηδε-  
 μίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν κατὰ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.
- 2 Παρήνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον,  
 παρασκευάζεσθαι τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομί-  
 ζεσθαι, ἐς τε μάχην μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντας  
 φυλάσσειν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἥτις ἐπὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, τὰ τε  
 τῶν συμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ  
 τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ
- 3 πολέμου γνώμη καὶ χρημάτων περιουσίαι κρατεῖσθαι. θαρσεῖν  
 τε ἐκέλευε, προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ  
 φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς  
 ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε  
 ἀργυρίου ἐπιστήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα  
 τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύ-  
 λαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τὰλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτείδαιαν
- 4 ἀπανηλώθη), χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἐν τε  
 ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς  
 πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκυῖλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιούτο-
- 5 τροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος [ἦν] ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα οἷς χρή-



σεσθαι αὐτοὺς καί, ἦν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσοῖς· ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστῆσαι πάλιν.

- 6 Χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὀπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ'
- 7 ἑπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλῖται ἦσαν. τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα – ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ – τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνιχίαι ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὃ
- 8 ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὃν ἡμισυ τούτου.) ἵππεάς δὲ ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν ἵπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας.
- 9 ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων, ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἐσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἴωθει Περικλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ.
- 14 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἀνεπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἥι κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν διεπέμψαντο
- 2 καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἢ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο.
- 15 Ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ὠικεῖτο πρυτανεῖά τε ἐχούσας καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὁπότε μὴ τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνῆισαν βουλευσόμενοι ὥς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολίτευον καὶ

- ἐβουλευόντο· καί τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ  
 2 Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθεά. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνητοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὔσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνώικισε πάντας καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢ ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσιν.
- 3 Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἢ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ'  
 4 αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἰδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν λίμναις Διονύσου, ὧι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι  
 5 καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἰδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένηι, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένηι, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι·  
 6 καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.
- 16 Τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκῇσιν μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνωικίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὁμῶς οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικεσίαι γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκῆσαντες† οὐ ραιδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι  
 2 ἀνειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά· ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλιπόντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια δίκαιάν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ

- 17 ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος. ἐπειδὴ τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μὲν  
 τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων  
 καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἔρῃμα τῆς πόλεως ὥικησαν καὶ τὰ  
 ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώια πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἑλευσι-  
 νίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληιστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν  
 καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ  
 οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώ-  
 λυε, λέγον ὥς “τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον”, ὁμῶς ὑπὸ τῆς  
 2 παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωικήθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον τούν-  
 αντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον  
 ἐνοίκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἢ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προήδει  
 3 μὴ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ ποτὲ αὐτὸ κατοικισθισόμενον. κατεσκευάσαντο  
 δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὥς ἕκαστός που  
 ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ’  
 ὕστερον δὴ τὰ τε μακρὰ τείχη ὥικησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ  
 4 Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλὰ. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἤπτοντο,  
 ξυμμάχους τε ἀγείροντες κατὰ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἑκατὸν νεῶν  
 5 ἐπίπλουν ἐξαρτύοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν.
- 18 Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προίων ἀφίκετο τῆς  
 Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον, ἥτις περ ἐμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ὥς ἑκα-  
 θέζοντο, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιησόμενοι  
 2 μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· (ἡ γὰρ Οἰνὴ οὕσα ἐν μεθορίοις  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὁπότε πόλεμος καταλάβοι.) τὰς τε οὖν  
 προσβολὰς ἡὔτρεπιζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν χρόνον περὶ  
 3 αὐτήν. αἰτίαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίστην Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ,  
 δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς  
 Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν· ἐπειδὴ  
 τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατὸς, ἡ τε ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη  
 καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἢ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν, μά-  
 4 λιστα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Οἰνῇ ἐπίσχεσις. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσεκομίζοντο  
 ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπελθόντες  
 ἂν διὰ τάχους πάντα ἔτι ἔξω καταλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου  
 5 μέλλησιν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν

τῇ καθέδρῃ εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ προσδεχόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἔτι ἀκεραίου οὕσης ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν περιιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνεῖχεν.

- 19 Ἐπειδὴ μέντοι προσβαλόντες τῇ Οἰνότηι καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πειράσαντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐπεκηρυκούντο, οὕτω δὲ ὀρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταίαι [τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων] γενόμενα ἡμέραι ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα, θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευσιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς.
- 2 καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἔτεμον πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον καὶ τροπὴν τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥεῖτους καλουμένους ἐποιήσαντο· ἔπειτα προυχώρουν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγάλεων ὄρος διὰ Κρωπιᾶς, ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρνάς, χωρίον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων, καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο χρόνον τε
- 20 πολὺν ἐμμέναντες ἔτεμον. γνώμη δὲ τοιαῖδε λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον περὶ τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον μέναι καὶ ἐς
- 2 τὸ πεδῖον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ καταβῆναι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἠλπίζεν, ἀκμάζοντάς τε νεότητι πολλῇ καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἐς πόλεμον ὡς οὕτω πρότερον, ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τὴν
- 3 γῆν οὐκ ἂν περιιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, πείραν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ
- 4 τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς καθήμενος εἰ ἐπεξίσσιν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως (τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὀπλῖται ἐγένοντο) οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὀρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. εἴ τε καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθοιεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδεέστερον ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστερον τό τε πεδῖον τεμῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν χωρήσεσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν, στάσιν δ' ἐνέσ-
- 5 εσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. τοιαύτη μὲν διανοίαι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ἦν.
- 21 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μέχρι μὲν οὗ περὶ Ἐλευσίνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν καὶ τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐ-

- τούς μὴ προιέναι, μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Πausανίου  
 Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα  
 καὶ Θριῶζε στρατῶι Πελοποννησίων πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου  
 τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐς τὸ πλεον οὐκέτι  
 προελθὼν (δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῶι ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης  
 2 δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν). ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ  
 Ἀχαρνὰς εἶδον τὸν στρατὸν ἐξήκοντα σταδίου τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀπέχοντα, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἰκός,  
 γῆς τεμνομένης ἐν τῶι ἐμφανεῖ, ὃ οὐπω ἐοράκεσαν οἱ γε νεώ-  
 τεροι, οὐδ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πλὴν τὰ Μηδικά, δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο καὶ  
 ἐδόκει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῇ νεότητι ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μὴ  
 3 περιορᾶν· κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ  
 μὲν κελεύοντες ἐπεξιέναι, οἱ δὲ τινες οὐκ ἔωντες· χρησμολόγοι τε  
 ἦιδον χρησμούς παντοίους, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὠργητο·  
 οἱ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἰόμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖ-  
 ραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμνετο, ἐνήγον τὴν ἐξο-  
 δον μάλιστα· παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις, καὶ τὸν  
 Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον καὶ ὧν παρήνευσε πρότερον ἐμέμνητο  
 οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὧν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι αἰτίον τε  
 σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντων ὧν ἔπασχον.
- 22 Περικλῆς δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας  
 καὶ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρονοῦντας, πιστεύων δὲ ὀρθῶς γινώσκειν  
 περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλ-  
 λογον οὐδένα, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ ξυνελθόντας  
 ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας μάλιστα ὅσον  
 2 ἐδύνατο εἶχεν. ἱππέας μέντοι ἐξέπεμπεν αἰεὶ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους  
 ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγύς τῆς  
 πόλεως κακουργεῖν· καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυ-  
 γίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς μετ'  
 αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχον οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ μέχρι οὗ προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς  
 Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν  
 Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοί· ἀνείλοντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς  
 αὐθημερὸν ἀσπόνδους. καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον τῇ ὕστε-  
 3 ραίαι ἔστησαν. ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ

παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, Πειράσιοι, Κραννώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἐκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες.

- 23 Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξῆισαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐδήριον τῶν δῆμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν μετὰ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους.
- 2 ὄντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Καρκίνος τε ὁ Ξενοτίμου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους καὶ Σωκράτης
- 3 ὁ Ἀντιγένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄραντες τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ περιέπλεον, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι χρόνον ἐμμείναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ ἥτις ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραικὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδήριωσαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι.
- 24 Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἔμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν· καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει χρημάτων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐξαίρετα ποιησαμένοις χωρὶς θέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμεῖν· ἦν δὲ τις εἶπη ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, ἦν μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι νηίτῃ στρατῷ ἐπιπλέωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ δέη
- 2 ἀμύνασθαι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο. τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐξαιρέτους ἑκατὸν ἐποίησαντο κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τὰς βελτίστας, καὶ τριηράρχους αὐταῖς, ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ ἐς ἄλλο τι ἢ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου, ἦν δέη.
- 25 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ προσβεβρηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάντες τῷ τείχει προσέ-
- 2 βαλον ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ



- τοὺς χώρους τούτους Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης φρουρὰν ἔχων, καὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μετὰ ὀπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. διαδραμὼν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ἐσκεδασμένον κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐσδρομῇ ἀπολέσας τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε πόλιν περιεποίησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος πρῶτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηνέθη ἐν
- 3 Σπάρτῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραντες παρέπλεον, καὶ σχόντες τῆς Ἥλειας ἐς Φειὰν ἐδήιουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας καὶ προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἥλιδος τριακοσίους λογάδας καὶ τῶν
- 4 αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἥλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. ἀνέμου δὲ κατιόντος μεγάλου χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ περιέπλεον τὸν Ἰχθυὺν καλούμενον τὴν ἄκραν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα, οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπιβῆναι κατὰ γῆν χωρήσαντες
- 5 τὴν Φειὰν αἰροῦσιν. καὶ ὕστερον αἱ τε νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξανάγονται ἐκλιπόντες Φειὰν, καὶ τῶν Ἥλείων ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδήιουν.
- 26 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλακὴν· ἐστρα-
- 2 τήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου. καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος τῆς τε παραθαλασσίας ἔστιν ἃ ἐδήλωσε καὶ Θρόνιον εἶλεν, ὁμήρους τε ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν Ἀλόπῃ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχῃ ἐκράτησεν.
- 27 Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἡκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἰγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ
- 2 πολλῶι ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκήτορας. ἐκπεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι, κατὰ τε τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον καὶ ὅτι σφῶν εὐεργέται ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμόν καὶ τῶν Εἰλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἡ δὲ Θυρεᾶτις γῆ μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἐστίν, ἐπὶ

θάλασσαν καθήκουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ὤικησαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπάρησαν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.

28 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους νουμηνίαι κατὰ σελήνην, ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε μετὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη, γενόμενος μηνοειδὴς καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων.

29 Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πύθεω ἄνδρα Ἀβδηρίτην, οὗ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σιτάλκης, δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον πολέμιον νομίζοντες πρόξενον ἐποίησαντο καὶ μετεπέμψαντο, βουλόμενοι Σιτάλκην σφίσι τὸν Τήρεω, Θραικῶν βασιλέα, ζύμμαχον γενέσθαι.

2 Ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεον τῆς ἄλλης Θράικης ἐποίησεν.

3 πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θραικῶν. Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίωνος ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶνσχόντι γυναιῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θράικης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίαι τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς [ὁ Τηρεὺς] ὠικεῖ τότε ὑπὸ Θραικῶν οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐπραξαν (πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνοιο μνήμῃ Δαυλιάς ἢ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται, εἰκός τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίωνα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου ἐπ' ὠφελίαι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ). Τήρης δὲ οὔτε τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων βασιλεὺς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο.

4 Οὐ δὴ ὄντα τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ζύμμαχον ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράικης χωρία καὶ Περδίκκαν ξυνεξελεῖν

5 αὐτόν. ἐλθὼν τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τὴν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ζυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον τόν τε ἐπὶ Θράικης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο καταλύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν στρατιὰν Θραικίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ

6 πελταστῶν. ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Θέρμην αὐτῷ ἐπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι· ξυνεστράτευσέ τε εὐθύς

7 Περδίκκας ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος. οὕτω μὲν Σιτάλκης τε ὁ Τήρεω Θραικῶν βασιλεὺς ζύμμαχος ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς.



- 30 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιον τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἰροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πολὺν νέμεσθαι· καὶ Ἀστακόν, ἧς Εὐαρχος ἐτυράννει, λαβόντες κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἐξελάσαντες αὐτὸν τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν
- 2 προσεποιήσαντο. ἐπὶ τε Κεφαλληνίαν τὴν νῆσον προσπλεύσαντες προσηγάγοντο ἄνευ μάχης· κεῖται δὲ ἡ Κεφαλληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα τετράπολις οὔσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προннаῖοι. ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῶι ἀνεχώρησαν αἱ νῆες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
- 31 Περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεῖ, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγούντος. καὶ οἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἤδη ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνακομιζόμενοι) ὥς ἦισθοντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας, ἐπλευσαν παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ
- 2 ξυνεμείχθησαν. στρατόπεδόν τε μέγιστον δὴ τοῦτο ἄθροον Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐπω νενοσηκυίας· μυρίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι (χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίαι τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν), μέτοικοι δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους τρισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος. δηιώσαντες δὲ τὰ
- 3 πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πανστρατιᾷ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἔάλω ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.
- 32 Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων φρούριον τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευτῶντος ἢ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις νήσος ἐρήμη πρότερον οὔσα, τοῦ μὴ ληιστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ Ὀποῦντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὐβοίαν.
- Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν Πελοποννησίῳ ἐκ
- 33 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀναχώρησιν ἐγένετο. τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Εὐαρχος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀστακὸν κατελθεῖν πείθει Κορινθίους τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακοσί-οις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν πλεύσαντας, καὶ αὐτὸς

- ἐπικούρους τινὰς προσεμισθώσατο· ἦρχον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς  
 Εὐφαιμίδας τε ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου καὶ Τιμόξενος ὁ Τιμοκράτους καὶ  
 2 Εὐμαχος ὁ Χρύσιδος. καὶ πλεύσαντες κατήγαγον· καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 Ἀκαρνανίας τῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἔστιν ἅ χωρία βουλόμενοι  
 προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πειραθέντες, ὥς οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἀπέπλεον  
 3 ἐπ' οἴκου. σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ ἀπό-  
 βασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν Κρανίων γῆν, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινὸς ἀνδρας τε ἀποβάλλουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπιθε-  
 μένων ἀπροσδοκῆτοισ τῶν Κρανίων, καὶ βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμε-  
 νοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.
- 34 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώ-  
 μενοι δημοσίαι ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν τῷιδε τῷ πολέμῳ  
 2 πρῶτων ἀποθανόντων τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὰ μὲν ὅστ' αὖ προτίθεν-  
 ται τῶν ἀπογενομένων πρότρίτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ  
 3 ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἦν τι βούληται· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ ἐκφορὰ  
 ἦι, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνας ἄγουσιν ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς ἐκάστης  
 μίαν· ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ ὅστ' αὖ ἦς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ  
 φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν μὴ εὐρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν.  
 4 ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, καὶ γυναῖκες  
 5 πάρεσιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι. τιθέασιν  
 οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου  
 τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων,  
 πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν  
 6 κρίναντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψωσι  
 γῆι, ἀνὴρ ἡιρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃς ἂν γνώμηι τε δοκῇ μὴ  
 ἀξύνετος εἶναι καὶ ἀξιῶσει προήκηι, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν  
 7 πρέποντα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσιν· καὶ  
 διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὅποτε συμβαίῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ  
 8 νόμῳ. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρῶτοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου  
 ἡιρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκούοιτο ὥς ἐπὶ  
 πλεῖστον τοῦ ὁμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.
- 35 “Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν  
 προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν  
 πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄρκουν ἂν

- ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ  
 δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίαι  
 παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς  
 2 κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ  
 τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιού-  
 ται. ὁ τε γὰρ ξυνειδῶς καὶ εὖνους ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεεσ-  
 τέρως πρὸς ἃ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὁ τε  
 ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ  
 ἐτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς  
 εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν  
 3 φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως  
 ἐδοκιμάσθη ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρή καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ  
 πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλῆσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς  
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.
- 36 “Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς  
 μνήμης δίδοσθαι. τὴν γὰρ χώραν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες  
 διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι’ ἀρετὴν  
 2 παρέδωκαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες  
 ἡμῶν· κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσῃν ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ  
 3 ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ  
 ἡμεῖς οἶδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ  
 ἐπηυξήσαμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς  
 4 πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ  
 πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτέθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες  
 ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πολέμιον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνά-  
 μεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος ἑάσω· ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε  
 ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ’ αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ’ οἷας πολιτείας καὶ  
 τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν  
 ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα ὁμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ  
 ξένων ζύμφορον εἶναι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν.
- 37 “Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεία οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας νόμους,  
 παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τινὶ ἢ μιμούμενοι ἐτέρους. καὶ

- ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία  
 κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα  
 πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ,  
 οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται,  
 οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν,  
 2 ἀξιώματος ἀφανείαι κεκώλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ κοι-  
 νὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν  
 τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει  
 3 ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦν-  
 τες τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ  
 ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν  
 ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίαι τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι ἀγραφοὶ  
 ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν.
- 38 “Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ  
 ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες,  
 ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις τὸ  
 2 λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ  
 πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέραι τῇ  
 ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι ἢ καὶ τὰ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.
- 39 “Διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν  
 ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἔστιν ὅτε ξηνηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος,  
 ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ὠφεληθείη, πιστεύοντες  
 οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεον καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἄφ' ἡμῶν  
 αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ  
 ἀσκήσει εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνει-  
 μένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους  
 2 χωροῦμεν. τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτούς,  
 μεθ' ἀπάντων δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τὴν τε τῶν  
 πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ  
 3 τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν, ἀθρόαι  
 τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς πῶ πολέμιος ἐνέτυχε διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν

- αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν· ἦν δέ που μορίω τινὶ προσμείξωσι, κρατήσαντές τέ τινας ἡμῶν πάντας ἀνχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι καὶ νικηθέντες  
 4 ὑφ' ἀπάντων ἡσῆσθαι. καίτοι εἰ ῥαιθυμίαι μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.
- 40 “Φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ’ εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῶι ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 2 διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἰσχίον. ἐνὶ τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς γινῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ’ ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε ἡ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον  
 3 λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ’ ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γινώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων.
- 4 “Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐνηντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτῶμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας, τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι’ εὐνοίας ὧι δέδωκε σώζειν· ὁ δὲ ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ’ ἐς  
 5 ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ συμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν.
- 41 “Ξυνελὼν τε λέγω τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν εἶναι, καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἂν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστ’ ἂν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ’ ἂν εὐτρα-  
 2 πέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι. καὶ ὥς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια αὐτὴ ἡ

- δύναμις τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα,  
 3 σημαίνει. μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσσων ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται,  
 καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολεμίῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ'  
 οἷων κακοπαθεῖ οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν ὥς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων  
 4 ἄρχεται. μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε  
 τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυ-  
 μασθησόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέτου  
 οὔτε ὅστις ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπό-  
 νοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν  
 ἐσβατὸν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πα-  
 νταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν αἰδία συγκατοικίσαντες.
- 5 “Περὶ τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἶδε τε γενναίως δικαιοῦντες μὴ  
 ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτὴν μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν λειπομένων  
 42 πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν. δι’ ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα  
 τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου  
 ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ  
 τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ’ οἷς νῦν λέγω φανεράν σημείοις καθιστάς.
- 2 καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ  
 τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων  
 φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα  
 3 καὶ τελευταία βεβαιούσα ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς  
 τᾶλλα χεῖροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος  
 ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῶι γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες  
 κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν.
- 4 “Τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας  
 ἐμαλακίσθη οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὥς κἂν ἔτι διαφυγὼν αὐτὴν  
 πλουτήσειεν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναν-  
 τίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα  
 τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ’ αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν  
 τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώ-  
 σαι ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου σφίσιν αὐ-  
 τοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν  
 μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώιζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ  
 λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ’ ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν καὶ δι’ ἐλαχίσ-



του καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

- 43 “Καὶ οἶδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῖδε ἐγένοντο· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρή ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν, ἣν ἂν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς καί, ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξη εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείραι του σφαλεῖεν, οὐκ οὖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν,
- 2 κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προιέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδία τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ’ ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ
- 3 αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ’ ἐκάστῳ
- 4 τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιστοιχεῖται. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ’ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἢ τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ’ οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται, καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα, ἦν τι
- 6 πταίσωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἢ [μετὰ τοῦ] ἐν τῷ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνώμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος.
- 44 “Δι’ ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθῆσομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ συμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται τραφέντες· τὸ δ’ εὐτυχές, οἱ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι
- 2 ξυμεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις

- ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη οὐχ ὧν ἂν τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν  
 3 στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν ἐθὰς γενόμενος ἀφαιρεθῇ. καρτερεῖν δὲ χρή καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίαί τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπιγιγνώμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλεῖαι, ξυνοίσει· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλευέσθαι οἱ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν.
- 4 “Ὅσοι δ' αὖ παρηβήκατε, τόν τε πλέονα κέρδος ὃν ἡτύχεϊτε βίον ἠγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείαι κουφίζεσθε. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγῆρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινὲς φασί, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι.
- 45 “Παῖσιν δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα (τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἶωθεν ἐπαινεῖν), καὶ μόλις ἂν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὁμοῖοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χεῖρους κριθεῖτε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίαι τετίμηται.
- 2 “Εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείαι ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι, βραχείαι παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ.
- 46 “Εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηνται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίαι ἢ πόλιν μέχρι ἡβῆς θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα· ἅθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ  
 2 καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσιν. νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν  
 47 προσήκει ἐκάστωι ἅπιτε.” τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ· καὶ διελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα.
- 2 Τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθύς ἀρχομένου Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν (ἠγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευσιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς),



- 3 καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐδήριον τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ πολλάς  
 πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς  
 Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκή-  
 ψαι καὶ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός  
 γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ ἐμνημονεύετο  
 4 γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἦρκουν τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες  
 ἀγνοίαι (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἔθνησκον ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσ-  
 ῆσαν), οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεῖα τέχνη οὐδεμία, ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς  
 ἰκέτευσαν ἢ μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο πάντα  
 ἀνωφελῇ ἦν· τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ  
 48 νικώμενοι. ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας  
 τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην  
 2 κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐσέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ  
 ἦψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελο-  
 ποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ  
 οὕτω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ  
 3 ἔθνησκον πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἤδη. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς  
 ἕκαστος γινώσκει, καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης, ἀφ' οἴου εἰκὸς ἦν  
 γενέσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἄστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μετα-  
 βολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἶόν  
 τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἂν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὐθις  
 ἐπιπέσοι, μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα  
 δηλώσω αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.  
 49 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὠμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκεῖνο  
 ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθeneίας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ πρού-  
 2 καμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς  
 προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ὑγιεῖς ὄντας πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς  
 θερμαὶ ἰσχυραὶ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθήματα καὶ φλόγῳσις ἐλάμ-  
 βανε, καὶ τὰ ἐντός, ἣ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθύς αἱματώδη ἦν  
 3 καὶ πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἡφίει· ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμός  
 καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῶι χρόνῳ κατέβαινεν ἐς  
 τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν  
 στηρίξειεν, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς παῖσαι  
 ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμένοι εἰσὶν ἐπῆσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ

- 4 ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης. λύγξ τε τοῖς πλέοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενή,  
 σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα,  
 5 τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῶι ὕστερον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἀπτομένῳ σῶμα  
 οὔτ' ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε χλωρόν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, πελιτνόν,  
 φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἐξηνηθός· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως  
 ἐκάετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς  
 ἐπιβολὰς μὴδ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι, ἡδιστὰ τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ  
 ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν. καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἡμελημένων  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα τῇ διψῇ ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχό-  
 6 μενοί· καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τό τε πλεόν καὶ ἔλασσον  
 ποτόν. καὶ ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο  
 διὰ παντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσον περ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι,  
 οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ,  
 ὥστε ἡ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 ἐντὸς καύματος ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως ἢ, εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατ-  
 7 ιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ ἐλκώσεώς τε αὐτῇ  
 ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης καὶ διαρροίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης  
 οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενεῖαι διεφθείροντο. διεξήκει γὰρ  
 διὰ παντός τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ  
 8 πρῶτον ἰδρυθὲν κακόν, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο,  
 τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινεν. κατέσκηπτε  
 γὰρ καὶ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ  
 στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.  
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραυτικά ἀναστάντας τῶν πάντων  
 ὁμοίως, καὶ ἡγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.
- 50 Γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου τά τε ἄλλα  
 χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἐκά-  
 στῳ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὄν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων  
 τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἄπτεται,  
 πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων ἢ οὐ προσήκει ἢ γευσάμενα διεφ-  
 2 θείρετο. τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις  
 σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον  
 οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἰσθησιν παρεῖχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος  
 διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.
- 51 Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὥς

ἐκάστωι ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἐτέρωι πρὸς ἕτερον γιγνόμενον, τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν. καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

- 2 Ἐθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμελείαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι. ἔν τε οὐδὲ ἓν κατέστη ἱάμα ὥς εἰπεῖν ὅτι χρή προσφέροντας
- 3 ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γάρ τωι ξυνενεγκόν, ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτεν. σῶμά τε αὐταρκες ὃν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνήρει καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα.
- 4 Δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ τε ἀθυμία ὁπότε τις αἰσθοίτο κάμνων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθύς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῶι μᾶλλον προίεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον), καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἐτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον· καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον φθόρον τοῦτο
- 5 ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ 'θέλοιεν δεδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρῆμοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίαι τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνηι γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι.
- 6 Ἐπὶ πλέον δ' ὁμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες τὸν τε θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν πονούμενον ὠικτίζοντο διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέωι εἶναι· δις γὰρ τὸν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐπελάμβανεν. καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης μῆδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.
- 52 Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνωι καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας.
- 2 οἰκίῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγγραῖς ὥραι ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμωι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἀπάσας ἡμιθνήτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίαι.

- 3 Τά τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνη-  
σκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γάρ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ  
ἔχοντες ὅτι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ  
4 ὁσίων ὁμοίως. νόμοι τε πάντες ξυνεταράχθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο  
πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς, ἔθαπτον δὲ ὥς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο. καὶ  
πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτη-  
δείων διὰ τὸ συχνούς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ  
ἀλλοτρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν  
νεκρὸν ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ καιομένου ἄλλου ἐπιβαλόντες ἄνωθεν ὄν  
53 φέροιεν ἀπῆϊσαν. πρῶτόν τε ἤρξε καὶ ἐς τάλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ  
πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἅ πρότερον  
ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μετα-  
βολὴν ὀρῶντες τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνηισκόντων  
καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθύς δὲ τάκεινων ἐχόντων.  
2 ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ἡξίου  
ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως  
3 ἡγούμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῶι οὐ-  
δεις πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν  
διαφθαρήσεται· ὅτι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδὺ, πανταχόθεν τε ἐς αὐτὸ κερδα-  
4 λέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἡ  
ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεις ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ  
σέβειν καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾶν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ  
ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεις ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιούς ἂν  
τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισ-  
μένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ  
54 βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι. τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόν-  
τες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τ' ἐνδον θνηισκόντων καὶ γῆς ἔξω  
δηιουμένης.  
2 Ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ οἷα εἰκὸς ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους,  
φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι αἰδεσθαι· “ἦξει Δωριακὸς πόλε-  
3 μος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.” ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἕρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν,  
ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ  
ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἅ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δέ γε οἶμαί  
ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ

- 4 ξυμβῆι γενέσθαι λιμόν, κατὰ τὸ εἶκός οὕτως αἰσονται. μνήμη δὲ  
 ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε  
 ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χρή πολεμεῖν ἀνεῖλε κατὰ κράτος  
 5 πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. περὶ μὲν  
 οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γινόμενα ἥικαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι· ἐσβε-  
 βληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς, καὶ ἐς  
 μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο  
 δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ  
 πολυανθρωπότατα. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γινόμενα.
- 55 Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἔτεμον τὸ πεδίον, παρῆλθον ἐς  
 τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρείου, οὗ τὰ ἀργύρεα  
 μέταλλά ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ἢ  
 πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὁρᾷ, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὐβοιάν τε καὶ  
 2 Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην. Περικλῆς δὲ στρατηγὸς ὢν καὶ τότε περὶ  
 μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχεν  
 56 ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐσβολῇ. ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ  
 ὄντων, πρὶν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν τῇ  
 Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἀνήγετο.
- 2 ἦγε δ' ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας Ἀθηναίων τετρακισχιλίους καὶ  
 ἱππέας τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν  
 παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις· ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Χῖοι καὶ  
 3 Λέσβιοι πεντήκοντα ναυσὶν. ὅτε δὲ ἀνήγετο ἡ στρατιὰ αὕτη  
 Ἀθηναίων, Πελοποννησίους κατέλιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν  
 4 τῇ παραλίᾳ. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου  
 ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς  
 5 ἐλπίδα μὲν ἦλθον τοῦ ἐλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι προυχώρησέ γε. ἀναγα-  
 γόμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδάουρου ἔτεμον τὴν τε Τροιζηνίδα γῆν καὶ  
 Ἀλιάδα καὶ Ἑρμιονίδα· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς  
 6 Πελοποννήσου. ἄραντες δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς τῆς  
 Λακωνικῆς πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ  
 αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἶλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ'  
 οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν. τοὺς δὲ Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν  
 τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνακεχωρηκότας.
- 57 Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, ἡ νόσος ἐν

- τε τῇ στρατιᾷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφθειρε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους δέισαντας τὸ νόσημα, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶη καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα
- 2 ἡισθάνοντο, θᾶσσον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελεῖν. τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ πλεῖστόν τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον· ἡμέρας γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.
- 58 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἄγων ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου, ξυστράτηγοι ὄντες Περικλέους, λαβόντες τὴν στρατιάν ἡἱπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο ἐστράτευσαν εὐθύς ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράικης καὶ Ποτειδαίαν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ μηχανάς τε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ προσέφερον καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ
- 2 ἐπειρῶντο ἐλεῖν. προυχώρει δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τᾶλλα τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀξίως· ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθείρουσα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς ξὺν Ἄγωνι στρατιᾶς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας. (Φορμίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι
- 3 οὐκέτι ἦσαν περὶ Χαλκιδέας.) ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄγων ἀνεχώρησε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπὸ τετρακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν χιλίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ νόσῳ ἀπολέσας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἡμέραις· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν Ποτειδαίαν.
- 59 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἦ τε γῇ αὐτῶν ἐτέτμητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ νόσος
- 2 ἐπέκειτο ἅμα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἡλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτίαι εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμηντο συγχωρεῖν· καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες ὡς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο. πανταχόθεν τε τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι
- 3 καθεστηκότες ἐνέκειντο τῷ Περικλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας ἄπερ αὐτὸς ἡλπίζε, ξύλλογον ποιήσας (ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει) ἐβούλετο θαρσύναι τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστήσαι· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.
- 60 “Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἔς με γεγένηται



- (αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας) καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τούτου ἔνεκα ξυνή-  
 γαγον, ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ  
 2 χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν  
 πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκασ-  
 3 τον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς  
 μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς  
 πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἦσσον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυ-  
 4 χούσῃ πολλῶι μᾶλλον διασώζεται. ὁπότε οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς  
 ἰδίας ξυμφορὰς οἷα τε φέρειν, εἰς δ' ἕκαστος τὰς ἐκείνης ἀδύνατος,  
 πῶς οὐ χρή πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ, καὶ μὴ ὁ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε· ταῖς  
 κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς  
 σωτηρίας ἀφίσθε, καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα πολεμεῖν καὶ  
 ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἱ ξυνέγνωτε δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε.
- 5 “Καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε ὅς οὐδενὸς ἦσσων οἶο-  
 μαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολις  
 6 τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσω. ὁ τε γὰρ γνούς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδά-  
 ξας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὁ τε ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ δὲ πόλει  
 δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἑνὸς ἂν  
 7 πωλοῖτο. ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσῳς ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων  
 προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε  
 ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην.
- 61 Καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται τᾶλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλή  
 ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἷξαντας εὐθύς τοῖς πέλας  
 ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγῶν τὸν κίνδυ-  
 2 νον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ  
 οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν  
 πεισθῆναι μὲν ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν  
 λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι,  
 διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκάστωι, τῆς δὲ  
 ὠφελίας ἀπεστιν ἔτι ἢ δήλωσις ἅπασι, καὶ μεταβολῆς μεγάλης,  
 καὶ ταύτης ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐμπεσούσης ταπεινῇ ὑμῶν ἢ διάνοια ἐγ-  
 3 καρτερεῖν ἃ ἔγνωτε. δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσ-  
 δόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ συμβαῖνον· ὁ ὑμῖν πρὸς  
 4 τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γεγένηται. ὁμως δὲ

πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἐν ἡθεσιν ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους χρεῶν καὶ συμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν (ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δικαιούσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι ὅστις μαλακίαί ἐλλείπει καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον), ἀπαλγῆσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.

- 62 “Τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηταί τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκείτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον, δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὃ μοι δοκεῖτε οὐτ’ αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐτ’ ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις· οὐδ’ ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομπωδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ καταπεπληγμένους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τὸ
- 2 εἰκὸς ἐώρων. οἴεσθε μὲν γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων μόνων ἄρχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερῶν, γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἐτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτάτους ὄντας, ἐφ’ ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πλεόν βουλευθῆτε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλεόντας ὑμᾶς οὔτε βασιλεὺς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κωλύσει.
- 3 ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἔστερῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ’ εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας ὀλιγωρῆσαι, καὶ γινῶναι ἐλευθερίαν μὲν, ἣν ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν, ραϊδίως ταῦτα ἀναληψομένην, ἄλλων δὲ ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προκεκτημένα φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τῶν τε πατέρων μὴ χεῖρους κατ’ ἀμφοτέρα φανῆναι, οἱ μετὰ πόνων καὶ οὐ παρ’ ἄλλων δεξάμενοι κατέσχον τε καὶ προσέτι διασώσαντες παρέδοσαν ὑμῖν αὐτά (αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι),
- 4 ἰέναι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμόσε μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 5 καταφρονήματι. αὔχημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ ὅς ἂν καὶ γνώμη πι-
- στεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προύχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἢ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν



παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἥσσον πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχύς,  
 63 γνῶμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιότερα ἡ πρόνοια. τῆς  
 τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ  
 ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μὴδὲ  
 τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν·

“Μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ’ ἐλευθερίας,  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ  
 2 ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε. ἥς οὐδ’ ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τότε  
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνηι ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὡς  
 τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι,  
 3 ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον. τάχιστ’ ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐτέρους  
 τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι  
 οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστη-  
 ρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει συμφέρει, ἀλλ’ ἐν  
 ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.

64 “Ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ  
 δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ὧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἴ καὶ ἐπελ-  
 θόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν  
 ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγέννηται τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἡ νόσος  
 ἦδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγενη-  
 μένον. καὶ δι’ αὐτήν οἱδ’ ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι, οὐ  
 δικαίως, εἴ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ λόγον τι εὖ πράξητε ἐμοὶ ἀναθή-  
 σετε.

2 “Φέρειν δὲ χρή τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν  
 3 τε ἦν νῦν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. γινώτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν  
 ἔχουσαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς συμφοραῖς μὴ εἴκειν,  
 πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόνους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ, καὶ δύ-  
 ναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἥς ἐς αἶδιον τοῖς  
 ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἦν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδωμέν ποτε (πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε  
 καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι), μνήμη καταλείψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι  
 Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ ἥρξαμεν καὶ πολέμοις μέγιστοις ἀντέσχο-  
 μεν πρὸς τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστους, πόλιν τε τοῖς πᾶσιν  
 εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ὠικήσαμεν.

4 “Καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμψαιτ’ ἂν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι καὶ

- 5 αὐτὸς βουλόμενος ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται, φθονήσει. τὸ δὲ  
μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ  
ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἐτέρων ἡξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις τὸ  
ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλεύεται. μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα  
6 δόξα αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν  
προγνόντες ἐς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ  
ἀμφοτέρα κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε  
μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἔστε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς οἵτινες  
πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἡκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ  
μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοί  
εἰσιν.”
- 65 Τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων ἐπειράτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς τε ἐς  
αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν  
2 τὴν γνώμην. οἱ δὲ δημοσίαι μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο καὶ οὔτε  
πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἔπεμπον ἐς τε τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον  
ὥρμητο, ἰδίαι δὲ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυποῦντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι  
ἀπ’ ἐλασσόνων ὀρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ  
καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν οἰκοδομίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι  
κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πόλεμον ἀντ’ εἰ-  
3 ρήνης ἔχοντες. οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπαύσαντο ἐν  
4 ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασιν. ὕστερον δ’ αὖθις  
οὐ πολλῶι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὁμιλος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο καὶ  
πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν, ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος  
ἤλγει ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες, ὧν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδεῖτο  
5 πλείστου ἄξιον νομίζοντες εἶναι. ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προύστη  
τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύ-  
λαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ἐκείνου μέγιστη, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ πόλε-  
μος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν.
- 6 Ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ ἕξ μῆνας· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν, ἐπὶ  
7 πλέον ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ  
ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη  
περιέσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐς τὸνναντίον ἔπραξαν καὶ  
ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας

- καὶ ἴδια κέρδη κακῶς ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφελία μᾶλλον ἦν, σφαλέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἔς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθίστατο. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὦν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἔξ οὗ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν τι ἀντειπεῖν. ὁπότε γοῦν αἰσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας, λέγων κατέπλησεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὐτὸς ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρώτου ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι.
- Ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλά, ὥς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆισαν ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες, οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλῃ τε παρασκευῇ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλέονι μορίῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες ὁμῶς τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀφεστηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρεῖχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἔς τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε τότε ἅφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥαιδίως περιγενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.
- Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐς Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται ἀντιπέρας Ἡλίδος· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄποικοι καὶ

- 2 Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. ἐπέπλεον δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων χίλιοι ὀπλῖται καὶ Κνημος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐδήλωσαν τὰ πολλά. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ ξυνεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.
- 67 Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ Πρατόδαμος καὶ Τεγεάτης Τιμαγόρας καὶ Ἀργεῖος Ἰδίαί Πόλλις, πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλέα, εἴ πως πείσειαν αὐτὸν χρήματά τε παρασχεῖν καὶ ξυμπολεμεῖν, ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην πρῶτον τὸν Τήρεω ἐς Θράικην, βουλόμενοι πείσαι τε αὐτόν, εἴ δύναιντο, μεταστάντα τῆς Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίας στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτεΐδαιαν, οὗ ἦν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιορκοῦν, καὶ ἡῖπερ ὥρμηντο, δι' ἐκείνου πορευθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάκην τὸν Φαρναβάζου, ὃς αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὡς βασιλέα ἀναπέμψειν. παρατυχόντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις Λεάρχος Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδης Φιλήμονος παρὰ τῷ Σιτάλκῃ πείθουσι τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγεννημένον Ἀθηναῖον, Σιτάλκου υἱόν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρίσαι σφίσιν, ὅπως μὴ διαβάντες ὡς βασιλέα τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάβωσιν. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς πορευομένους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς Θράικης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ὧι ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον περαιώσκειν, πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν ξυλλαμβάνει, ἄλλους ξυμπέμψας μετὰ τοῦ Λεάρχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδου, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἐκόμισαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν δείσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἀριστεά μὴ αὖθις σφᾶς ἔτι πλείω κακουργῇ διαφυγῶν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς Ποτεΐδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράικης πάντα ἐφαίνετο πράξας, ἀκρίτους καὶ βουλομένους ἔστιν ἃ εἰπεῖν αὐθημερόν ἀπέκτειναν πάντας καὶ ἐς φάραγγα ἐσέβαλον, δικαιοῦντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι οἷσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπῆρξαν, τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν ὀλκάσι περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας ἀποκτείναντες καὶ ἐς φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες. πάντας γάρ δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσους λάβοιεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὡς πολεμίους δίεφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ξυμπολεμοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων.
- 68 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος, καὶ

- Ἀμπρακιῶται αὐτοί τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἀναστήσαντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην  
 2 Ἀμφιλοχίαν. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῖς  
 3 ἦρξατο πρῶτον γενέσθαι. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε μὲν μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἵκαδε ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἀργεῖ καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρακικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἐαυτοῦ  
 4 πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας (καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς  
 5 Ἀμφιλοχίας καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας), ὑπὸ  
 6 συμφορῶν δὲ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον πιεζόμενοι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὁμόρους ὄντας τῇ Ἀμφιλοχικῇ ξυνοίκους ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ ἠλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν. ἐκβάλλουσιν οὖν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται χρόνῳ  
 7 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἴσχουσι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' Ἀμφίλοχοι γενομένου τούτου διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρναῖσι, καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμφοτέροι Ἀθηναίους, οἱ αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τε στρατηγὸν ἐπεμψαν καὶ ναῦς τριάκοντα, ἀφικομένου [δὲ] τοῦ Φορμίωνος αἰρουῦσι κατὰ κράτος Ἄργος καὶ τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἠνδραπόδισαν,  
 8 κοινῇ τε ὤικισαν αὐτὸ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Ἀκαρναῖνες. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ συμμαχία πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀκαρναῖσιν.  
 9 οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τήνδε τὴν στρατείαν ποιοῦνται αὐτῶν τε καὶ Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων· ἐλθόντες τε πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτουν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὥς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν προσβαλόντες, ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ ἔθνη. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐγένετο.
- 69 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἔστειλαν εἴκοσι μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Φορμίωνα στρατηγόν, ὃς ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Ναυπάκτου φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, ἐτέρας δὲ ἑξ ἐπὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Μελήσανδρον στρατηγόν, ὅπως ταῦτά τε ἀργυρολογῶσι καὶ τὸ ληιστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μὴ ἐῷσιν αὐτόθεν ὀρμώμενον βλάπτειν τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὀλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ

- 2 Φασήλιδος καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἡπείρου. ἀναβάς δὲ στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τι διέφθειρε νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.
- 70 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Ποτειδεᾶται ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο πολιορκούμενοι ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' αἱ τε ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολαὶ Πελοποννησίων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστασαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὃ τε σῆτος ἐπελελοίπει, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπεγεγένητο αὐτόθι ἤδη βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας καὶ τινες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγέγυντο, οὕτω δὲ λόγους προσφέρουσι περὶ ξυμβάσεως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσι τεταγμένοις, Ξενοφῶντί τε τῷ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Ἑστιοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀριστοκλείδου καὶ Φανομάχῳ
- 2 τῷ Καλλιμάχῳ. οἱ δὲ προσεδέξαντο, ὀρῶντες μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ, ἀνηλωκυίας δὲ ἤδη τῆς
- 3 πόλεως δισχίλια τάλαντα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν, ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ξὺν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριον
- 4 τι ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον ἐς τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ ἦι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς ἐπητιτιάσαντο ὅτι ἄνευ αὐτῶν ξυνέβησαν (ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἂν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως ἦι ἐβούλοντο). καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἐπεμψαν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ κατώικισαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.
- 71 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐκ ἐσέβαλον, ἐστράτευσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Πλάταιαν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔμελλε δηιώσειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς εὐθὺς πρέσβεις πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοιάδε·
- 2 “Ἀρχίδαμε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ἄξια οὔτε ὑμῶν οὔτε πατέρων ὧν ἐστέ, ἐς γῆν τὴν Πλαταιῶν στρατεύοντες. Πausanias γὰρ ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐλευθέρωσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐθελησάντων ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς μάχης ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, θύσας ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἀγορᾷ ἱερὰ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ



- ξυγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν  
 καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαί  
 τε μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείαι· εἰ δὲ μή,  
 3 ἀμύνειν τοὺς παρόντας ξυμμάχους κατὰ δύναμιν. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν  
 πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν  
 ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις γενομένης, ὑμεῖς δὲ τάναντία δρᾶτε· μετὰ  
 γὰρ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείαι τῇ ἡμετέραι  
 4 ἦκετε. μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς τε ὀρκίους τότε γενομένους ποιού-  
 μενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρώιους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους,  
 λέγομεν ὑμῖν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν  
 τοὺς ὀρκους, ἔαν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους καθάπερ Πausanias ἐδι-  
 καίωσεν.”  
 72 Τoσαῦτα εἰπόντων τῶν Πλαταιῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὑπολαβὼν εἶ-  
 πεν· “δίκαια λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἣν ποιῆτε ὁμοῖα τοῖς  
 λόγοις. καθάπερ γὰρ Πausanias ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν, αὐτοὶ τε αὐτο-  
 νομεῖσθε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνελευθεροῦτε, ὅσοι μετασχόντες τῶν  
 τότε κινδύνων ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν καὶ εἰσὶ νῦν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις,  
 παρασκευὴ τε τοσσηδε καὶ πόλεμος γεγένηται αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερώσεως. ἥς μάλιστα μὲν μετασχόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ἐμμείνατε τοῖς ὀρκοῖς· εἰ δὲ μή, ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον ἤδη προυκαλε-  
 σάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστε  
 2 μηδετέρους. καὶ τάδε ἡμῖν ἀρκέσει.” ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος τοσαῦτα  
 εἶπεν.

- Οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῶν πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὴν  
 πόλιν, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ ῥηθέντα κοινώσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο  
 αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσιν εἶη ποιεῖν ἃ προκαλεῖται ἄνευ  
 Ἀθηναίων (παῖδες γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶεν),  
 δεδιέναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῇ πάσῃ πόλει μὴ ἐκείνων ἀποχωρησάντων  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες σφίσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν, ἢ Θηβαῖοι, ὥς ἔνορ-  
 κοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι, αὐθις σφῶν τὴν πόλιν  
 3 πειράσωσι καταλαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφη·  
 “ὑμεῖς δὲ πόλιν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἡμῖν παράδοτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονί-  
 οῖς, καὶ γῆς ὄρους ἀποδείξατε καὶ δένδρα ἀριθμῶι τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ  
 ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατὸν ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε

- ὅποι βούλεσθε, ἕως ἄν ὁ πόλεμος ᾗ· ἐπειδὴν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἃ ἄν παραλάβωμεν. μέχρι δὲ τοῦδε ἔξομεν παρακαταθήκην, ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ φορὰν φέροντες ἢ ἄν ὑμῖν μέλλῃ ἱκανὴ
- 73 ἔσεσθαι.” οἱ δ’ ἀκούσαντες ἐσῆλθον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεξαν ὅτι βούλονται ἃ προκαλεῖται Ἀθηναίοις κοινῶσαι πρῶτον, καὶ ἦν πείθωσιν αὐτούς, ποιεῖν ταῦτα· μέχρι δὲ τούτου σπείσασθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γῆν μὴ δηιοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας τε ἐσπείσατο ἐν αἷς εἰκὸς ἦν κομισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἔτεμνεν.
- 2 Ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Πλαταιῆς πρέσβεις ὥς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετ’ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἦλθον ἀπαγγέλλοντες τοῖς ἐν
- 3 τῇ πόλει τοιαῦδε· “οὐτ’ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ, ὃ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἀφ’ οὗ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα, Ἀθηναῖοί φασιν ἐν οὐδενὶ ὑμᾶς προέσθαι ἀδικουμένους οὔτε νῦν περιόψεσθαι, βοηθήσειν δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν. ἐπισκῆπτουσί τε ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν ὄρκων οὐς οἱ
- 74 πατέρες ὥμοσαν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν.” τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπαγγειλάντων οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐβουλεύσαντο Ἀθηναίους μὴ προδιδόναι, ἀλλ’ ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γῆν τεμνομένην, εἰ δεῖ, ὁρῶντας καὶ ἄλλο πάσχοντας ὅτι ἄν ξυμβαίνει· ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα ἔτι, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσι ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προκαλοῦνται.
- 2 Ὡς δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέστη, λέγων ὧδε· “θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε καὶ ἡρώες, ξυνίστορές ἐστε ὅτι οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως, ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶνδε προτέρων τὸ ξυνώμοτον, ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἦλθομεν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εὐξάμενοι ὑμῖν Μήδων ἐκράτησαν καὶ παρέσχετε αὐτὴν εὐμενῇ ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὔτε νῦν, ἦν τι ποιῶμεν, ἀδικήσομεν· προκαλεσάμενοι γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν. ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως.”
- 75 Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περισταύρωσαν αὐτοὺς τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἃ ἔκοψαν, τοῦ μηδένα ἔτι ἐξιέναι, ἔπειτα χῶμα ἔχουν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐλπί-



- ζοντες ταχίστην αἵρεσιν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν στρατεύματος τοσούτου  
 2 ἐργαζομένου. ξύλα μὲν οὖν τέμνοντες ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρω-  
 κοδόμουν ἐκατέρωθεν, φορμηδὸν ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες, ὅπως μὴ  
 διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ χῶμα· ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλην ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους  
 3 καὶ γῆν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀνύτειν μέλλοι ἐπιβαλλόμενον. ἡμέρας δὲ  
 ἔχουν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ νύκτας ξυνεχῶς, διηιρημένοι κατ' ἀνα-  
 παύλας, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ ὕπνον τε καὶ σῆτον αἰρεῖ-  
 σθαι· Λακεδαιμονίων τε οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἐκάστης πόλεως ξυνεφεστῶτες  
 ἠνάγκαζον ἐς τὸ ἔργον.
- 4 Ὅι δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὀρῶντες τὸ χῶμα αἰρόμενον, ξύλινον τεῖχος  
 ξυνθέντες καὶ ἐπιστήσαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν τείχει ἦι προσεχοῦτο,  
 ἔσωικοδόμουν ἐς αὐτὸ πλίνθους ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦν-  
 5 τες. ξύνδεσμος δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα, τοῦ μὴ ὑψηλὸν γιγνόμενον  
 ἀσθενὲς εἶναι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα, καὶ προκαλύμματα εἶχε δέρσεις καὶ  
 διφθέρας, ὥστε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους καὶ τὰ ξύλα μήτε πυρφόροις  
 6 οἰστοῖς βάλλεσθαι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε εἶναι. ἦιρετο δὲ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ  
 τείχους μέγα, καὶ τὸ χῶμα οὐ σχολαίτερον ἀντανήιει αὐτῷ. καὶ  
 οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιόνδε τι ἐπινοοῦσιν· διελόντες τοῦ τείχους ἦι  
 76 προσέπιπτε τὸ χῶμα ἔσεφόρουν τὴν γῆν. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι  
 αἰσθόμενοι ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνίλλοντες ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ  
 2 διηιρημένον, ὅπως μὴ διαχεόμενον ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ φοροῖτο. οἱ δὲ  
 ταύτῃ ἀποκληιόμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέσχον, ὑπόνομον δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλεως ὀρύξαντες καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα ὑφεῖλκον  
 αὐθις παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν χοῦν· καὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἔξω,  
 ὥστε ἐπιβάλλοντας ἦσσαν ἀνύτειν ὑπαγομένου αὐτοῖς κάτωθεν  
 3 τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἰζάνοντος αἰεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κενούμενον. δεδιότες δὲ μὴ  
 οὐδ' οὕτω δύνωνται ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀντέχειν, προσεπ-  
 εξηῦρον τόδε· τὸ μὲν μέγα οἰκοδόμημα ἐπαύσαντο ἐργαζόμενοι  
 τὸ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 βραχείος τείχους ἐκ τοῦ ἐντὸς μηνοειδὲς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔσωικοδό-  
 μουν ὅπως, εἰ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἀλίσκοιτο, τοῦτ' ἀντέχοι, καὶ δέοι  
 τοὺς ἐναντίους αὐθις πρὸς αὐτὸ χοῦν καὶ προχωροῦντας ἔσω  
 διπλάσιόν τε πόνον ἔχειν καὶ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι.
- 4 Ἄμα δὲ τῇι χώσει καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι  
 τῇι πόλει, μίαν μὲν ἢ τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος κατὰ τὸ χῶμα

- προσαχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μέγα τε κατέσεισε καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς ἐφόβησεν, ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους, ἃς βρόχους τε περιβάλλοντες ἀνέκλων οἱ Πλαταιῆς, καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἀρτήσαντες ἀλύσει μακραῖς σιδηραῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ κεραιῶν δύο ἐπικεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπερτείνουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους ἀνεγκύσαντες ἐγκαρσίας, ὅποτε προσπесеῖσθαι πῃ μέλλοι ἢ μηχανή, ἀφίεσαν τὴν δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσει καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες, ἡ δὲ ῥύμη ἐμπίπτουσα ἀπεκαύλιζε τὸ προὔχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς.
- 77 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς αἶ τε μηχαναὶ οὐδὲν ὠφέλουν καὶ τῷ χώματι τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἐγίγνετο, νομίσαντες ἄπορον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν περιτείχισιν παρεσκευάζοντο.
- 2 Πρῶτον δὲ πυρὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πειρᾶσαι εἰ δύναιντο πνεύματος γενομένου ἐπιφλέξει τὴν πόλιν οὔσαν οὐ μεγάλην· πᾶσαν γὰρ δὴ ἰδέαν ἐπενόουν, εἰ πῶς σφίσιν ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ πολιορκίας προσαχθεῖ. φοροῦντες δὲ ὕλης φακέλους παρέβαλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ πρῶτον τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς προσχώσεως, ταχὺ δὲ πλήρους γενομένου διὰ πολυχειρίαν ἐπιπαρένησαν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου πλεῖστον ἐπισχεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες δὲ πῦρ ξὺν θείῳ καὶ πίσσῃ ἦψαν
- 4 τὴν ὕλην. καὶ ἐγένετο φλόξ τοσαύτη ὅσην οὐδεὶς πῶ ἔξ γε ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον χειροποίητον εἶδεν· (ἤδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν.) τοῦτο δὲ μέγα τε ἦν καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς τᾶλλα διαφυγόντας ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι· ἐντὸς γὰρ πολλοῦ χωρίου τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν πελάσαι, πνεῦμά τε εἰ ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον, ὅπερ καὶ ἠλπίζον οἱ ἐναντίοι, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγον.
- 6 νῦν δὲ καὶ τότε λέγεται ξυμβῆναι, ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ καὶ βροντὰς γενομένας σβέσαι τὴν φλόγα καὶ οὕτω παυσθῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον.
- 78 Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου διήμαρτον, μέρος μὲν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἀφέντες περιετείχιζον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ, διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον· τάφος δὲ
- 2 ἐντὸς τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ἐξείργαστο περὶ ἄρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς, καταλιπόντες φυλακὰς

- τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους (τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασσον) ἀνεχώρη-  
 3 σαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις. Πλαταιῆς δὲ παῖ-  
 δας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ πλῆθος τὸ  
 ἀχρεῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰς  
 Ἀθήνας, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι τετρακό-  
 4 σι τοποιοί. τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ ξύμπαντες ὅτε ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν  
 καθίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτ'  
 ἐλεύθερος. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Πλαταιῶν πολιορκία κατεσκευάσθη.
- 79 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ ἅμα τῇ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐπιστρατεία  
 Ἀθηναῖοι δισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἵππεῦσι διακοσίοις  
 ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράικης καὶ Βοττιαίους  
 2 ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Εὐριπίδου τρί-  
 τος αὐτός. ἐλθόντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σπάρτῳ τὴν Βοττικὴν τὸν σῖτον  
 διέφθειραν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ προσχωρήσειν ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τινων ἔνδο-  
 θεν πρᾶσσόντων. προσπεμψάντων δὲ ἐς Ὀλυνθον τῶν οὐ ταῦτὰ  
 βουλομένων ὀπλίται τε ἦλθον καὶ στρατιὰ ἐς φυλακὴν· ἥς ἐπεξ-  
 3 ἐλθούσης ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου ἐς μάχην καθίστανται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀπλίται τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ  
 ἐπίκουροί τινες μετ' αὐτῶν νικῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
 4 ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τὴν Σπάρτῳ, οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ  
 φιλοὶ νικῶσι τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ φιλοὺς· εἶχον δὲ  
 τινὰς οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης.  
 ἄρτι δὲ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ  
 5 ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύνθου. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου φιλοὶ ὥς εἶδον, θαρ-  
 σήσαντες τοῖς τε προσγιγνομένοις καὶ ὅτι πρότερον οὐχ  
 ἦσσηντο, ἐπιτίθενται αὐθις μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἱππέων καὶ τῶν  
 προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰς  
 6 δύο τάξεις ἃς κατέλιπον παρὰ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν  
 ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀποχωροῦσι δ' ἐνέκειντο καὶ  
 ἐσηκόντιζον. οἱ τε ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων προσιππεύοντες ἦι  
 δοκοίη προσέβαλλον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα φοβήσαντες ἔτρεψαν τοὺς  
 7 Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν ἐπὶ πολὺ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν  
 Ποτείδαιαν καταφεύγουσι, καὶ ὕστερον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόν-  
 δους κομισάμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀναχωροῦσι τῷ περιόντι τοῦ

στρατοῦ· ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες. οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Βοττιαῖοι τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνελόμενοι διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

- 80 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, οὐ πολλῶι ὕστερον τούτων, Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες βουλόμενοι Ἀκαρνανίαν τὴν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀποστῆσαι πείθουσι Λακεδαιμονίους ναυτικόν τε παρασκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς συμμαχίδος καὶ ὀπλίτας χιλίους πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀκαρνανίαν, λέγοντες ὅτι, ἦν ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶι ἅμα μετὰ σφῶν ἔλθωσιν, ἀδυνάτων ὄντων συμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων, ῥαϊδίως ἂν Ἀκαρνανίαν σχόντες καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας κρατήσουσι, καὶ ὁ περίπλους οὐκέτι ἔσοιτο Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως περὶ Πελοπόννησον·
- 2 ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι καὶ Ναύπακτον λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες Κνημον μὲν ναύρχον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις εὐθύς πέμπουσι, τῶι δὲ ναυτικῶι περιήγγειλαν
- 3 παρασκευασαμένῳ ὥς τάχιστα πλεῖν ἐς Λευκάδα. ἦσαν δὲ Κορίνθιοι συμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀποίοις οὔσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικόν ἐκ τε Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦν, τὸ δ' ἐκ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀνακτορίου καὶ Ἀμπρακίας πρότερον ἀφικόμενον ἐν Λευκάδι
- 4 περιέμενεν. Κνημος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ χίλιοι ὀπλῖται ἐπειδὴ ἐπεραιώθησαν λαθόντες Φορμίωνα, ὃς ἦρχε τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν αἱ περὶ Ναύπακτον ἐφρούρουν, εὐθύς παρεσκευάζοντο
- 5 τὴν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν. καὶ αὐτῶι παρῆσαν Ἑλλήνων μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οὓς αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθε χίλιοι Πελοποννησίων, βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο ἐπετησίῳ προστατεῖαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώτυος καὶ Νικάνωρ. ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ μετὰ Χαόνων καὶ
- 6 Θεσπρωτοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι. Μολοσσοὺς δὲ ἦγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπίτροπος ὧν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ Παραναίους Ὅροιδος βασιλεύων. Ὅρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ Παραναίων ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὅροι-
- 7 δωι Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κρύφα
- 8 τῶν Ἀθηναίων χιλίους Μακεδόνων, οἱ ὕστερον ἦλθον. τούτῳι

τῷ στρατῷ ἐπορεύετο Κνημος οὐ περιμείνας τὸ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ναυτικόν, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἰόντες Λιμναίαν, κώμην ἀτείχιστον, ἐπόρθησαν. ἀφικνοῦνται τε ἐπὶ Στράτον, πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ραιδίως ἂν σφίσι τάλλα προσχωρήσειν.

- 81 Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ τε γῆν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἐσβεβληκυῖαν ἐκ τε θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα τοὺς πολεμίους παρεσομένους, οὔτε ξυνεβοήθουν, ἐφύλασσόν τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι, παρὰ τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες ἀμύνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατος ἔφη εἶναι ναυτικοῦ ἐκ Κορίνθου μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν Ναύπακτον ἐρήμην
- 2 ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στρατίων πόλιν, ὅπως ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ λόγοις πείθοιεν, ἔργῳ
- 3 πειρῶντο τοῦ τείχους. καὶ μέσον μὲν ἔχοντες προσῆισαν Χάονες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἐκ δεξιᾶς δ' αὐτῶν Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Κνημος καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται· διεῖχον δὲ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων
- 4 καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἐωρῶντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τεταγμένοι τε προσῆισαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες, ἕως ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν ἐπιτηδεΐῳ· οἱ δὲ Χάονες σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνηι ἡπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι οὔτε ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν, χωρήσαντές τε ῥύμη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν τὴν πόλιν
- 5 ἐλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι. γνόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Στράτιοι ἔτι προσιόντας καὶ ἡγησάμενοι, μεμονωμένων εἰ κρατήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι σφίσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμοίως προσελθεῖν, προλοχίζουσι δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκ τε τῆς πόλεως ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν προσπί-
- 6 πτουσιν. καὶ ἐς φόβον καταστάντων διαφθείρονται τε πολλοὶ τῶν Χαόνων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ὥς εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας οὐκέτι
- 7 ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν. τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων οὐδέτερον ἦισθετο τῆς μάχης διὰ τὸ πολὺ προελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδον οἰηθῆναι καταληψομένους ἐπείγεσθαι.
- 8 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυναγαγόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡσύχαζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν,

- ἐς χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἰόντων σφίσι τῶν Στρατίων διὰ τὸ μήπω τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀκαρνᾶνας ξυμβεβοηθηκέναι, ἅπωθεν δὲ σφενδονώντων καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθιστάντων (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ ὀπλων κινηθῆναι,
- 82 δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν). ἐπειδὴ δὲ νύξ ἐγένετο, ἀναχωρήσας ὁ Κνήμος τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄναπτον ποταμόν, ὃς ἀπέχει σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα Στράτου, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς κομίζεται τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ Οἰνιαδῶν ξυμπαραγενομένων κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναχωρεῖ παρ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὴν ξυμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν. κάκεῖθεν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστοι. οἱ δὲ Στράτιοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.
- 83 Τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου ναυτικόν, ὃ ἔδει παραγενέσθαι τῷ Κνήμῳ, ὅπως μὴ ξυμβοηθῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες, οὐ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐν Στράτῳ μάχης ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι
- 2 ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ ἐφρούρουν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ. ὁ γὰρ Φορμί-  
ων παραπλέοντας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου ἐτήρει, βουλόμενος ἐν
- 3 τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπλεον  
μὲν οὐχ ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευ-  
ασμένοι ἐς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ
- τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς τὰς σφετέρας τολμῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
εἴκοσι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντι-  
παραπλέοντάς τε ἐώρων αὐτοὺς παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων,
- καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον διαβαλ-  
λόντων ἐπ' Ἀκαρνανίας κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς  
Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι, καὶ οὐκ  
ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ἀφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὲ ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν
- 4 κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ  
πόλεις ἐκάστων οἱ παρεσκευάζοντο, Κορινθίων δὲ Μαχάων καὶ  
Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδας.
- 5 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὥς μέ-  
γιστον οἰοί τ' ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πρώϊρας μὲν ἔξω,  
ἔσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας, καὶ τὰ τε λεπτὰ πλοῖα ἃ ξυνέπλει ἐντὸς  
ποιοῦνται καὶ πέντε ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως ἐκπλέοιεν



- διὰ βραχείος παραγιγνόμενοι, εἴ πηι προσπίπτοιεν οἱ ἐναντίοι.
- 84 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι περιέπλεον αὐτοὺς κύκλῳ καὶ ξυνῆγον ἐς ὀλίγον, ἐν χρῶι αἰεὶ παραπλέοντες καὶ δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν· προεῖρητο δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ
- 2 Φορμίωνος μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς σημῆνηι. ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ μενεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεζήν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ταραχὴν παρέξειν, εἴ τ' ἐκπνεύσειεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω, οὐδένα χρόνον ἡσυχάσειν αὐτούς· καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι ὁπότεν βούληται, τῶν νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν, καὶ τότε καλλίστην γίνεσθαι.
- 3 Ὡς δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα κατήiei καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἤδη οὔσαι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν τε πλοίων, ἅμα προσκειμένων ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ ναῦς τε νηὶ προσέπιπτε καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διεωθοῦντο, βοῇ τε χρώμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφυλακῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίαι οὐδὲν κατήκουον οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων οὔτε τῶν κελευστῶν καὶ τὰς κώπας ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐν κλύδωνι ἀναφέρειν ἄνθρωποι ἄπειροι τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρείχον, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον σημαίνει, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπεσόντες πρῶτον μὲν καταδύουσι τῶν στρατηγίδων νεῶν μίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἥι χωρήσειαν διέφθειρον, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν μηδένα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ταραχῆς, φεύγειν δὲ ἐς Πάτρας καὶ Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας.
- 4 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καταδιώξαντες καὶ ναῦς δώδεκα λαβόντες τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόμενοι ἐς Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ καὶ ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύπακτον. παρέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι εὐθύς ταῖς περιλοίποις τῶν νεῶν ἐκ
- 5 τῆς Δύμης καὶ Πατρῶν ἐς Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον· καὶ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος Κνῆμος καὶ αἱ ἐκείνων νῆες, ἃς ἔδει ταύταις συμμεῖξαι, ἀφικνοῦνται μετὰ τὴν ἐν Στράτῳ μάχην ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην.
- 85 Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Κνήμῳ συμβούλους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Τιμοκράτη καὶ Βρασίδαν καὶ Λυκόφρονα, κελεύοντες

ἄλλην ναυμαχίαν βελτίω παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ὀλίγων  
 2 νεῶν εἵργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 πρῶτον ναυμαχίας πειρασαμένοις πολὺς ὁ παράλογος εἶναι, καὶ  
 οὐ τοσούτῳ ὦιοντο σφῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν λείπεσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δέ  
 τινα μαλακίαν, οὐκ ἀντιτιθέντες τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐμ-  
 3 πειρίαν τῆς σφετέρας δι' ὀλίγου μελέτης. ὀργῇ οὖν ἀπέστελλον.  
 οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ Κνήμου ναῦς τε προσπεριήγγειλαν  
 4 κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τὰς προὔπαρχούσας ἐξηρτύοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυ-  
 μαχίαν. πέμπει δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὴν τε παρα-  
 σκευὴν αὐτῶν ἀγγελοῦντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἦν ἐνίκησαν  
 φράσσοντας, καὶ κελεύων αὐτῷ ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας διὰ τάχους  
 5 ἀποστεῖλαι, ὡς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐλπίδος οὔσης αἰεὶ ναυμα-  
 χήσιν. οἱ δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν εἴκοσι ναῦς αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ κομίζοντι  
 αὐτὰς προσεπέστειλαν ἐς Κρήτην πρῶτον ἀφικέσθαι. Νικίας γὰρ  
 Κρής Γορτύνιος πρόξενος ὦν πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Κυδωνίαν πλεῦ-  
 6 σαι, φάσκων προσποιήσιν αὐτὴν οὔσαν πολεμίαν· ἐπῆγε δὲ  
 Πολιχνίταις χαριζόμενος ὁμόροις τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς ὤιχετο ἐς Κρήτην, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Πολιχνιτῶν  
 ἐδήϊου τὴν γῆν τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνέμων καὶ ἀπλοίας  
 86 ἐνδιέτριψεν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ Πελο-  
 ποννήσιοι, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Κρήτην κατ-  
 εἶχοντο, παρεσκευασμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρέπλευσαν ἐς  
 2 τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσεβεβοηθήκει. παρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 Φορμίων ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικὸν καὶ ὠρμίσατο ἔξω αὐτοῦ  
 3 ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ  
 Ῥίον φίλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ῥίον ἐστὶν ἀντιπέρας,  
 τὸ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· διέχετον δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδίους  
 4 μάλιστα ἑπτὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, τοῦ δὲ Κρισαίου κόλπου στόμα  
 τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἐπὶ οὖν τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαικῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι,  
 ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Πανόρμου, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοῖς ὁ πεζὸς ἦν, ὠρμί-  
 5 σαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ναυσὶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους εἶδον. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀνθώρμουν ἄλ-  
 λήλοις μελετῶντές τε καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὴν ναυμαχίαν,  
 γνώμην ἔχοντες οἱ μὲν μὴ ἐκπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν Ῥίων ἐς τὴν εὐρυ-



χωρίαν, φοβούμενοι τὸ πρότερον πάθος, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς τὰ στενά, νομίζοντες πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ ναυμαχίαν.

- 6 Ἐπειτα ὁ Κνημος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατηγοί, βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει τὴν ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι πρὶν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθῆσαι, ξυνεκάλεσαν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρῶτον, καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν προτέραν ἦσαν φοβουμένους καὶ οὐ προθύμους ὄντας παρεκελεύσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.
- 87 “Ἡ μὲν γενομένη ναυμαχία, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, εἴ τις ἄρα δι’ αὐτὴν ὑμῶν φοβεῖται τὴν μέλλουσαν, οὐχὶ δικαίαν ἔχει  
2 τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι. τῇ τε γὰρ παρασκευῇ ἐνδεὴς ἐγένετο, ὥσπερ ἴστε, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐπλέομεν· ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐναντιωθῆναι, καὶ πού τι καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία πρῶτον ναυμαχοῦντας  
3 ἔσφηλεν. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κακίαν τὸ ἡσσᾶσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δὲ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς γε ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλ-  
λεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ ὀρθῶς ἀνδρείους εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος προ-  
βαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἐν τινι κακοὺς γενέσθαι.
- 4 “Ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδ’ ἡ ἀπειρία τοσοῦτον λείπεται ὅσον τόλμη προύχετε· τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα καὶ μνήμην ἔξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει. φόβος  
5 γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἦσαν δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν.
- 6 “Περιγίγνεται δὲ ὑμῖν πλῆθός τε νεῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ οἰκείαι οὔσῃ ὀπλιτῶν παρόντων ναυμαχεῖν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν πλεόνων  
7 καὶ ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένων τὸ κράτος ἐστίν. ὥστε οὐδὲ καθ’ ἐν εὐρίσκομεν εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς σφαλλομένους· καὶ ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν πρότερον, νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα προσγενόμενα διδασκαλίαν παρέξει.  
8 θαρσοῦντες οὖν καὶ κυβερνῆται καὶ ναῦται τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἕκα-  
9 στος ἔπεσθε, χώραν μὴ προλείποντες ἢ ἂν τις προσταχθῇ. τῶν

δὲ πρότερον ἡγεμόνων οὐ χεῖρον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμεῖς παρασκευάσομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδώσομεν πρόφασιν οὐδενὶ κακῶι γενέσθαι· ἦν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ βουλευθῆι, κολασθήσεται τῇ πρεπούσῃ ζημίαι, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τιμήσονται τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄθλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς.”

88 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις οἱ ἄρχοντες παρεκελεύσαντο. ὁ δὲ Φορμίων δεδιὼς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀρρωδίαν καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐβούλετο συγκαλέσας θαρσύναι  
2 τε καὶ παραΐνεσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσασθαι. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε καὶ προπαρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος νεῶν τοσοῦτον, ἦν ἐπιπλήει, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον ἐστί, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν, μηδένα ὄχλον Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες Πελοπον-  
3 νησίων νεῶν ὑποχωρεῖν· τότε δὲ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὄψιν ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας ἐβούλετο ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν, καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

89 “Ὅρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, πεφοβημένους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνεκάλεσα, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἐν ὀρρωδίαι  
2 ἔχειν. οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ προνενικῆσθαι καὶ μηδ’ αὐτοὶ οἶεσθαι ὁμοῖοι ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρεσκευάσαντο· ἔπειτα ὦι μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι’ ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορ-  
3 θοῦντες, καὶ οἶονται σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό. τὸ δ’ ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐψυχίαι γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐκάτεροί τι εἶναι ἐμπειρότεροι θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν.

4 “Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἡγούμενοι αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν ἄκοντας προσάγουσι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν  
5 ποτε ἐνεχείρησαν ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὐθις ναυμαχεῖν. μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν τὴν τόλμαν δείσητε. πολὺ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνοις πλείω φόβον παρέχετε καὶ πιστότερον κατὰ τε τὸ προνενικηκέναι καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦνται μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ πράξειν  
6 ἀνθίστασθαι ὑμᾶς. ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείους, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλεον πῖσυνοι ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέρχονται· οἱ δὲ ἐκ

- πολλῶι ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι, μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες ἀντιτολμῶσιν. ἃ λογιζόμενοι οὗτοι τῶι οὐκ εἰκότι πλέον πεφόβηνται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇι κατὰ λόγον παρα-
- 7 σκευῇ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων τῇι ἀπειρία, ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ τῇι ἀτολμία· ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν.
- 8 “Τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῶι κόλπῳ ἐκὼν εἶναι ποιήσομαι οὐδ' ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς πολλὰς ναῦς ἀνεπιστήμονας ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐμπείροις καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσαις ἢ στενοχωρία οὐ συμφέρει. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειέ τις ὥς χρή ἐς ἐμβολήν, μὴ ἔχων τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ πολλοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐν δέοντι πιεζόμενος· διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδ' ἀναστροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη ἂν εἴη τὴν ναυμαχίαν πεζομαχίαν καθίστασθαι, καὶ ἐν
- 9 τούτῳ αἱ πλείους νῆες κρείσσους γίνονται. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἔξω τὴν πρόνοιαν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτακτοὶ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες τά τε παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δέχεσθε ἄλλως τε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορμήσεως οὔσης, καὶ ἐν τῶι ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστου ἡγεῖσθε, ὃ ἐς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμίων συμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχίαι οὐχ ἡκιστα, ἀμύνεσθέ τε τούσδε ἀξίως
- 10 τῶν προειργασμένων. ὃ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν, ἢ καταλῦσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ ἐγγυτέρω καταστῆσαι
- 11 Ἀθηναίοις τὸν φόβον περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. ἀναμιμνήσκω δ' αὖ ὑμᾶς ὅτι νενικήκατε αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς· ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν αἱ γινῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ὁμοῖαι εἶναι.”
- 90 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων παρεκελεύσατο. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐπέπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον καὶ τὰ στενά, βουλόμενοι ἄκοντας ἔσω προαγαγεῖν αὐτούς, ἀναγαγόμενοι ἅμα ἔωι ἔπλεον, ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν, ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου, δεξιῶι κέραι ἡγουμένῳ,
- 2 ὥσπερ καὶ ὦρμουν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῶι εἴκοσιν ἔταξαν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως, εἰ ἄρα νομίσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον αὐτοὺς πλεῖν ὁ Φορμίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβοηθῶν ταύτῃ παραπλέοι, μὴ διαφύγοιεν πλείοντες τὸν ἐπίπλουν σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔξω τοῦ

- 3 ἑαυτῶν κέρως, ἀλλ' αὐται αἱ νῆες περικλήσειαν. ὁ δέ, ὅπερ ἐκεῖ-  
 νοι προσεδέχοντο, φοβηθεὶς περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ὄντι, ὥς  
 ἑώρα ἀναγομένους αὐτοὺς, ἄκων καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβιβάσας  
 ἔπλει παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμα τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεβοή-  
 4 θει. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παρα-  
 πλέοντας καὶ ἤδη ὄντας ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ,  
 ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα, ἀπὸ σημείου ἑνὸς ἄφνω ἐπιστρέψαντες  
 τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον, ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος, ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 5 Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἠλπίζον πάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀπολήψεσθαι. τῶν δὲ  
 ἑνδεκα μὲν τινες αἵπερ ἠγοῦντο ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας τῶν  
 Πελοποννησίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· τὰς δ'  
 ἄλλας ἐπικαταλαμβάνοντες ἐξέωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑποφευγούσας  
 καὶ διέφθειραν, ἄνδρας τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσοι μὴ  
 6 ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν. καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀναδούμενοι εἴλκον κενὰς  
 (μίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶλον ἤδη), τὰς δὲ τινὰς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι  
 παραβοηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν θά-  
 λασσαν καὶ ἐπιβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μαχόμενοι  
 ἀφείλοντο ἔλκομένας ἤδη.
- 91 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκράτουν τε καὶ διέφθειραν  
 τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς· αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι νῆες αὐτῶν αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ  
 κέρως ἐδίωκον τὰς ἑνδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἵπερ ὑπεξέφυγον  
 τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν. καὶ φθάνουσιν αὐτοὺς πλὴν  
 μιᾶς νεῶς προκαταφυγοῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ναύπακτον, καὶ σχοῦσαι  
 ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνόμε-  
 2 νοι, ἣν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλέωσιν. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστε-  
 ρον ἐπαιάνιζόν τε ἅμα πλέοντες ὥς νενικηκότες, καὶ τὴν μίαν  
 ναῦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐδίωκε Λευκαδία ναῦς μία  
 3 πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων. ἔτυχε δὲ ὀλκὰς ὁρμοῦσα μετέωρος, περὶ  
 ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ναῦς φθάσασα καὶ περιπλεύσασα τῇ Λευκαδίᾳ  
 4 διωκούσῃ ἐμβάλλει μέσῃ καὶ καταδύει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πελοπον-  
 νησίοις γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκῆτου τε καὶ παρὰ λόγον  
 φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ ἅμα ἀτάκτως διώκοντες διὰ τὸ κρατεῖν αἱ  
 μὲν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ,  
 ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεφόρμησιν, βουλόμε-  
 νοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς βράχεια ἀπειρίαι χωρίων

- 92 ὤκειλαν. τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάρσος τε  
 ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ὤρμησαν. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀμαρτήματα καὶ τὴν παρ-  
 οὔσαν ἀταξίαν ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμειναν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρά-  
 2 ποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον, ὅθεν περ ἀνηγάγοντο. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε ἐγγὺς οὔσας μάλιστα ναῦς ἔλαβον ἕξ καὶ τὰς  
 ἑαυτῶν ἀφείλοντο, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες τὸ  
 πρῶτον ἀνεδήσαντο· ἄνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ  
 3 ἐζώγρησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Λευκαδίας νεώς, ἣ περὶ τὴν ὀλκάδα κατ-  
 ἔδου, Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος πλέων, ὥς ἡ ναῦς διεφθείρετο,  
 4 ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐξέπεσεν ἐς τὸν Ναυπακτίων λιμένα. ἀνα-  
 χωρήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν, ὅθεν ἀναγαγό-  
 μενοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ ναυάγια ὅσα πρὸς τῇ  
 ἑαυτῶν ἦν ἀνείλοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπόσπονδα  
 5 ἀπέδωκαν. ἔστησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον ὡς  
 νενικηκότες τῆς τροπῆς, ἃς πρὸς τῇ γῇ διέφθειραν ναῦς· καὶ  
 ἦν περ ἔλαβον ναῦν, ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαικὸν παρὰ τὸ  
 6 τροπαῖον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 βοήθειαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐσέπλευσαν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον καὶ  
 7 Κόρινθον ἅπαντες πλὴν Λευκαδίων. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσίν, αἷς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῷ  
 Φορμίωνι παραγενέσθαι, οὐ πολλῶι ὕστερον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως  
 τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνουῦνται ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.
- 93 Πρὶν δὲ διαλυῖσαι τὸ ἐς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον  
 ἀναχωρήσαν ναυτικόν, ὁ Κνῆμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 ἄρχοντες τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐβού-  
 λοντο διδασκάντων Μεγαρέων ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ Πειραιῶς τοῦ  
 λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἦν δὲ ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἀκκληιστος εἰκότως  
 2 διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ ναυτικῷ. ἐδόκει δὲ λαβόντα τῶν  
 ναυτῶν ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον καὶ τὸν  
 τροπωτῆρα πεζῇ ἰέναι ἐκ Κορίνθου ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θά-  
 λασσαν καὶ ἀφικομένους κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μέγαρα καθελκύσαντας  
 ἐκ Νισαίας τοῦ νεωρίου αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἱ ἔτυχον  
 3 αὐτόθι οὔσαι, πλεῦσαι εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικόν  
 ἦν προφυλάσσειν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἂν

- ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἑξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδ', εἰ διενοοῦντο, 4 μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς· καὶ ἀφικόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ καθελκύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οὐκέτι, ὥσπερ διενοοῦντο, καταδείσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον (καὶ τις καὶ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς λέγεται κωλύσαι), ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ πρὸς Μέγαρα ὄρων· καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδὲ ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν. τῶι τε φρουρίῳ προσέβαλον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφείλκυσαν κενάς, τὴν τε ἄλλην Σαλαμῖνα ἀπροσ- 94 δοκήτοις ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπόρθουν. ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας φρυκτοὶ τε ἦιροντο πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκπληξίς ἐγένετο οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὦιοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τὴν τε Σαλαμῖνα ἠιρῆσθαι καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς· ὅπερ ἂν, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν μὴ κατοκνησαι, ῥαιδίως ἐγένετο, καὶ 2 οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσεν. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἅμ' ἡμέραι πανδημεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον καὶ ἐσβάντες κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ πολλῶι θορύβῳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα 3 ἔπλεον, τῶι πεζῶι δὲ φυλακὰς τοῦ Πειραιῶς καθίσταντο. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ὥς ἦισθοντο τὴν βοήθειαν, καταδραμόντες τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκ τοῦ Βουδόρου τοῦ φρουρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τῆς Νισαίας ἀπέπλεον· ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοὺς διὰ χρόνου καθελκυσθεῖσαι καὶ οὐδὲν στέγουσαι ἐφόβουν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ 4 Μέγαρα πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπεχώρησαν πεζῇ· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι καταλαβόντες πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἀπέπλευσαν καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυλακὴν ἤδη τοῦ Πειραιῶς μᾶλλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποιοῦντο λιμένων τε κλήσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείαι.
- 95 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, τοῦ χειμῶνος τούτου ἀρχομένου, Σιτάλκης ὁ Τήρεω Ὀδρύσης Θραικῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Περδίκκαν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδονίας βασιλέα καὶ ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράικης, δύο ὑποσχέσεις τὴν μὲν βουλόμ- 2 ενος ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι. ὃ τε γὰρ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενος, εἰ Ἀθηναίοις τε διαλλάξειεν ἑαυτὸν κατ'



ἀρχὰς τῷ πολέμῳ πειζόμενον καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πολέμιον ὄντα μὴ καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείαι, ἃ ὑπεδέξατο οὐκ ἐπετέλει· τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αὐτὸς ὠμολογῇκει, ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν ἐπὶ Θράικης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσειν.

3 ἀμφοτέρων οὖν ἔνεκα τὴν ἔφοδον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν τε Φίλιππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείαι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦγε καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, οἱ ἔτυχον παρόντες τούτων ἔνεκα, καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ἀγνωνά· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ναυσί τε καὶ στρατιᾷ ὡς πλείστη ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παραγενέσθαι.

96 Ἀνίστησιν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ὁρμώμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἴμου τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς Ῥοδόπης Θράικας ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἴμον Γέτας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου κατώικητο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτηι ὁμοροί τε τοῖς  
2 Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκειοι, πάντες ἵπποτοξόται. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θραικῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιοροφόνων, οἱ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλείστοι οἰκοῦντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ ἐπειθεν, οἱ δ' ἔθελονταί ξυνηκολούθουν.  
3 ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὦν ἦρχε, καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν· μέχρι γὰρ Λαιαίων Παιόνων καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους δι' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Λαιαίων ρεῖ, [οὗ] ὠρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ  
4 τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ τούτους αὐτονόμους Τρῆρες ὠρίζον καὶ Τιλαταῖοι· οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους καὶ παρήκουσι πρὸς ἡλίου δύσιν μέχρι τοῦ Ὀσκίου ποταμοῦ. ρεῖ δ' οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθεν περ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ ὁ Ἑβρος· ἔστι δὲ ἐρῆμον τὸ ὄρος καὶ μέγα, ἐχόμενον τῆς Ῥοδόπης.

97 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν πόντον μέχρι Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ· αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα, ἣν αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἰστῆται τὸ πνεῦμα, νηὶ στρογγύλῃ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν· ὁδῶι δὲ τὰ ξυντομώτατα ἐξ  
2 Ἀβδήρων ἐς Ἰστρον ἀνὴρ εὐζωνος ἑνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ. τὰ μὲν πρὸς

θάλασσαν τοσαύτη ἦν, ἐς ἡπειρον δὲ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐς Λαιαίους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα (ταύτῃ γὰρ διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἐγίγνετο) ἡμερῶν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνωι τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἀνύσαι.

3 Φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ὅσωνπερ ἤρξαν ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας πλείστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μά-  
λιστα δύναμις, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἦιει· καὶ δῶρα οὐκ ἐλάσσω  
τούτων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου προσεφέρετο, χωρὶς δὲ ὅσα  
ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή, καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσιν τε καὶ γενναίοις Ὀδρυσῶν.

4 κατεστήσαντο γὰρ τούναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τὸν  
νόμον, ὄντα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θραιξί, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ  
διδόναι (καὶ αἴσχιον ἦν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ  
τυχεῖν), ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πλεόν αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο·  
οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξαι οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἡ

5 βασιλεία ἤλθεν ἰσχύος. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ  
τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο  
χρημάτων προσόδωι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίαι, ἰσχύϊ δὲ μάχης  
6 καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν. ταύτῃ δὲ  
ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ  
Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνος ἐν πρὸς ἐν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατὸν Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμο-  
νοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν  
καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται.

98 Σιτάλκης μὲν οὖν χώρας τοσαύτης βασιλεύων παρεσκευάζετο  
τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐτοῖμα ἦν, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ  
τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς, ἔπειτα διὰ  
Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὁρους, ὃ ἔστι μεθόριον Σιντῶν καὶ Παίωνων·  
ἐπορεύετο δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ ἦν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο  
2 τεμῶν τὴν ὕλην, ὅτε ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐστράτευσεν. τὸ δὲ ὄρος ἐξ  
Ὀδρυσῶν διιόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἶχον Παίονας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ  
Σιντούς καὶ Μαιδούς. διελθόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δόβηρον  
3 τὴν Παιονικὴν. πορευομένωι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ  
στρατοῦ εἰ μὴ τι νόσωι, προσεγίγνετο δὲ πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν  
αὐτονόμων Θραικῶν ἀπαράκλητοι ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἠκολούθουν,  
ὥστε τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος λέγεται οὐκ ἔλασσον πέντε καὶ δέκα μυ-



- 4 ριάδων γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλέον πεζὸν ἦν, τριτημόριον δὲ μάλιστα ἱππικόν. τοῦ δ' ἱππικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ Ὀδρύσαι παρείχοντο καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Γέται. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ οἱ μαχαιροφόροι μαχιμώτατοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ῥοδόπης αὐτόνομοι καταβάντες, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὁμιλος ξύμμεικτος πλήθει φοβερώ-
- 99 τatos ἠκολούθει. ξυνηθροίζοντο οὖν ἐν τῇ Δοβήρῳ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ὅπως κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐσβαλοῦσιν ἐς τὴν κάτω
- 2 Μακεδονίαν, ἧς ὁ Περδίκκας ἤρχεν. τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχα μὲν ἐστί τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα, βασιλείας δ' ἔχει καθ' αὐτά.
- 3 Τὴν δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατήρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ, Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἀργούς, πρῶτοι ἐκτῆσαντο καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχηι ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας, οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὠίκησαν Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ), ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἱ νῦν ὁμοροὶ
- 4 Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσιν· τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενὴν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτῆσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν
- 5 καλουμένην Ἠδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἑορδίας καλουμένης Ἑορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δὲ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατώικηται, καὶ ἐξ
- 6 Ἀλμωπίας Ἀλμωπας. ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τὸν τε Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται, καὶ Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου βασι-
- 100 λεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπῆιει. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι ἐπιόντος πολλοῦ στρατοῦ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι ἐς τε τὰ
- 2 καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐσεκομίσθησαν. ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλά, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὠικοδόμησε καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τάλλα διεκόσμησε τὰ [τε] κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσسونι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὁκτῶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι.

- 3 Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Θραικῶν ἐκ τῆς Δοβήρου ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον  
 μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὔσαν ἀρχήν, καὶ εἶλεν Εἰδομένην  
 μὲν κατὰ κράτος, Γορτυνίαν δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα  
 χωρία ὁμολογίαι διὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα τοῦ  
 Φιλίππου υἱέος παρόντος· Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἐλεῖν  
 4 δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προ-  
 χώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου. ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς  
 τὴν Βοττιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε Μυγδο-  
 5 νίαν καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Ἀνθεμοῦντα ἐδήιουν. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες  
 πεζῶι μὲν οὐδὲ διεννοοῦντο ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπεμ-  
 ψάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων, ὅπηι δοκοίη, ὀλίγοι πρὸς  
 πολλοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Θραικῶν. καὶ ἦι μὲν  
 προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ  
 τεθωρακισμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους περικληιόμενοι αὐτοὺς πολ-  
 λαπλασίῳ τῶι ὁμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν, ὥστε τέλος  
 ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οὐ νομίζοντες ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πλεόν κινδυ-  
 νεύειν.
- 101 Ὁ δὲ Σιτάλκης πρὸς τε τὸν Περδίκκαν λόγους ἐποιεῖτο ὧν  
 ἕνεκα ἐστράτευσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρῆσαν ταῖς  
 ναυσίν, ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἤξειν, δῶρα δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμ-  
 ψαν αὐτῷ, ἔς τε τοὺς Χαλκιδέας καὶ Βοττιαίους μέρος τι τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ πέμπει, καὶ τειχήρεις ποιήσας ἐδήιου τὴν γῆν.  
 2 καθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους οἱ πρὸς νότον  
 οἰκοῦντες Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπήκοοι Θεσ-  
 σαλῶν καὶ οἱ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ καὶ  
 ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁ στρατὸς χωρήσῃ, καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν.  
 3 ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πέραν Στρυμόνος πρὸς βορέαν Θραῖκες,  
 ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον, Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι καὶ Δρῶοι καὶ  
 4 Δερσαῖοι· αὐτόνομοι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες. παρέσχε δὲ λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμίους Ἕλληνας, μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγόμε-  
 νοι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρήσωσιν.
- 5 Ὁ δὲ τὴν τε Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἅμα  
 ἐπέχων ἔφθειρε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο ὧν ἕνεκα  
 ἐσέβαλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σῖτόν τε οὐκ εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ  
 χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει, ἀναπείθεται ὑπὸ Σεύθου τοῦ Σπαρ-  
 α-

δόκου, ἀδελφιδοῦ ὄντος καὶ μέγιστον μεθ' ἑαυτὸν δυναμένου, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ἀπελθεῖν. τὸν δὲ Σεύθην κρύφα Περδίκκας ὑποσχόμενος ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσποιεῖται. καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς καὶ μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας, τούτων δὲ ὀκτῶ ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἴκου· Περδίκκας δὲ ὕστερον Στρατονίκην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν δίδωσι Σεύθῃ, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σιτάλκου στρατείαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

- 102 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικὸν διελύθη, Φορμίωνος ἡγουμένου ἐστράτευσαν, παραπλεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ καὶ ἀποβάντες, ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τετρακοσίοις μὲν ὀπλίταις Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τετρακοσίοις δὲ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ ἕκ τε Στράτου καὶ Κορόντων καὶ ἄλλων χωρίων ἀνδρας οὐ δοκοῦντας βεβαίους εἶναι ἐξήλασαν, καὶ Κύνητα τὸν Θεολύτου ἐς
- 2 Κόροντα καταγαγόντες ἀνεχώρησαν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἐς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνανῶν οὐκ ἔδοκει δυνατόν εἶναι χειμῶνος ὄντος στρατεῦειν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξίεις παρ' Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος
- 3 ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεῦειν. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν τοῦ Ἀχελῷου τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι, ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς προσχοῖ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τῶν νήσων αἱ ἡπείρωνται, ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ
- 4 τινὶ ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν· τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερὸν, αἱ τε νῆσοι πυκναὶ καὶ ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι ξύνδεσμοι γίνονται, παραλλὰξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι, οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ
- 5 ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ἐρῆμοι δ' εἰς καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμέωνι τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν Ἀπόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν, ὑπειπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δειμάτων πρὶν ἂν εὐρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ κατοικήσῃται ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα

μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο μηδὲ γῆ ἦν, ὥς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ  
 6 μεμιασμένης. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὥς φασι, μόλις κατενόησε τὴν  
 πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ Ἀχελώιου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν  
 κεχῶσθαι δίαίτα τῷ σώματι ἀφ' οὗπερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ  
 ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο. καὶ κατοικισθεὶς ἐς τοὺς περὶ Οἰνιάδας  
 τόπους ἐδυνάστευσέ τε καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀκαρνᾶνος παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς  
 χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκατέλιπεν. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀλκμέωνα  
 τοιαῦτα λεγόμενα παρελάβομεν.

- 103 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ  
 ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἅμα ἤρι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθή-  
 νας, τοὺς τε ἐλευθέρους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν  
 ἄγοντες, οἳ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἅς εἶλον.  
 2 καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ τρίτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ  
 ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

## COMMENTARY

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### 1 The beginning of the war

**The first sentence of Book 2.** Although these words introduce a new phase of the work – the beginning of the war itself, now to be narrated strictly chronologically – neither this nor any other book-division is the work of T. himself. (On the various divisions attested and their possible dates see *HCT* v.389; B. Hemmerdinger, 'La division en livres de l'œuvre de Thucydide', *R.E.G.* 61 (1948) 104–17.) This sentence must therefore be read closely with 1.145–6, which describes the breakdown of negotiations after the Athenians had rejected a Spartan ultimatum:

(1.145) καὶ οἱ μὲν [the Spartans] ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι ὕστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο· (1.146) αἰτίαι δὲ αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμεναι εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Κερκύραι· ἐπεμείγνυντο δὲ ὁμῶς ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ· σπονδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολεμεῖν. (2.1) ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθὲνδε ἤδη ....

'The Spartans returned home and sent no subsequent embassies, and these were the accusations and disputes, arising immediately out of the crises in Corcyra and Epidamnus, made by both sides prior to the war. Even so, during these disputes (ἐν αὐταῖς) they still maintained communications and travelled back and forth without heralds (although not without suspicion, since what was happening constituted the end of the truce and the preliminary stage of war). *Already from this point* (ἐνθὲνδε ἤδη, contrasted with temporal ἐν αὐταῖς above) begins between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians and their respective allies the war, during which they did *not* communicate except through heralds, and fought without interruption once they had started.'

It had been overlooked until recently that T. does not consider the first official day of the war (given in ἀρχεται ... ἐνθὲνδε, which can only

refer backward) to be that of the Theban attack on Plataea which he dates so precisely in the next paragraph; rather it is the unspecified day of the Athenians' decision to follow Pericles and reject the Spartan ultimatum as described in 1.139.3-145. (It is to this day that he refers when he later (5.20.1) says that the Archidamian war lasted 'ten years and a few days'.) T.'s criterion for calling this the beginning is twice made clear to be a minor feature (communication solely by heralds), and in fact he marks *several* stages in the onset of hostilities: here the breaking off of communication, Ch. 8 an estimate of public opinion on the eve of war; Ch. 9 a catalogue of allies; in 10-13 paired speeches by the opposing commanders; in 19.1, the formulaic announcement of the first invasion of Attica.

On Chapter 1 see especially Hunter Rawlings III, *The Structure of Thucydides' history* (Princeton 1981) 19-36; previous discussions are now largely obsolete.

**ἡ ἐν ᾧ:** temporal, sc. πολέμῳ (as in 65.5 ἐπειδὴ τε ... ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ... καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ...).

**οὔτε ἐπεμείγνυντο ... καταστάντες τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν:** οὔτε and τε are parallel, as often in T. (see Introd. 23). Before καταστάντες may be understood ἐς ὃν (i.e. πόλεμον, as in 9.1 and 13.9): 'after they had entered into it ...'

**ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν:** it is difficult to see how T. could claim non-stop fighting for the years of the peace of Nicias (421-415); this passage therefore provides support for the view of Ullrich (see Introd. 6), that parts of T.'s work still assume that the war had ended in 421.

**Γέγραπται:** sc. ὁ πόλεμος as in 5.24.2 (followed by the indirect question with ὥς, as in 1.1.1 ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον ... ὥς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους).

**ἐξῆς** 'in order', i.e. chronologically. Book 1 had shown less regard for chronological sequence, with long digressions on Greek prehistory (1.1-19) and the years between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars (1.89-118).

**κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα:** T.'s innovation. Hellanicus of Lesbos had based a chronicle on the priestesses of Hera at Argos (*FGrHist* 4 F 74-84), and had organized his Athenian history ('Ατθίς, *FGrHist* 4 F 38-49) by archons; but T. elsewhere (5.20) criticises this practice - the tenure of such offices could vary, and dating events within them was difficult. He uses eponymous officials only to establish the year in

which the war begins (2.1 below), and thereafter his own seasonal division is strictly maintained. Within Book 2 are the first three years of the war (431–428 B.C.). Year I: summer = 2.2–32, winter = 2.33–46; Year II: summer = 2.47–68, winter = 2.69–70; Year III: summer = 2.71–92, winter = 2.93–103.

### 2–6 The Theban attempt on Plataea

Having marked the war's beginning and noted that his narration will be chronological by seasons, T. describes the first notable fighting of the spring of 431, a daring pre-dawn attempt to capture Plataea (cf. [Dem.] 59.98–106, Diod. 12.41–2).

It must be stressed that this raid cannot be said to begin the war in any important *causal* sense – it was an action by Thebes alone against Plataea alone, involving no allies, and T. gives it the foremost place only *chronologically*, as the first event of the war's first spring. Yet it is also paradigmatic in many ways for the *Peloponnesian War*:

- (1) Careful planning is ruined by lateness at crucial moments (2.4, the Thebans delay killing their chief opponents; 5.1–4, the relief force is late in reaching Plataea; 6.2–3, the Athenian herald is too late to prevent the executions).
- (2) The co-operation of minor *stasiotai* and greater powers brings to local disputes an international dimension (cf. especially 3.82.1).
- (3) Instead of concluding these disputes, the greater powers may be infected by their savagery – here the Thebans attempt a policy of moderation (2.4), but fall victim to the Plataeans' frenzy. Their revenge (3.60–8) will be Plataea's extinction.

The bold plan turns into a pathetic misadventure, and the diplomatic aftermath is so poorly managed by Thebes, Plataea and Athens that it leads the Peloponnesians (10.1) to invade Attica.

On the attack on Plataea see especially Smart, 'Thucydides and Hellanicus', and H.-P. Stahl, *Thucydides: Die Stellung des Menschen im geschichtlichen Prozess* (Zetemata 40, Munich 1966) 65–74. T. returns to the story of Plataea in subsequent years, through its investment by the Peloponnesians in 429 (2.71–8), to the escape of 212 citizens from the besieged city in the winter of 428–7 (3.20–4), and its fall and destruction in the summer of 427 (3.52–68).

**2.1 τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ... μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν:** γάρ does not refer back to ἄρχεται (so Krüger, Poppo–Stahl, and Smart 20 n. 5, all drawing therefrom false conclusions about the meaning of the first sentence), but is used ‘after an expression [here γέγραπται] denoting the giving or receiving of information’ (GP 59; cf., e.g., 48.3–49. 1 ταῦτα δηλώσω ... τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος ...). The period in question is 445–432 B.C. (reckoned inclusively, see on 34.2); the sack of Euboea and peace treaty were described in T.’s summary of events between the wars, 1.114–15.

**τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει:** the war is to be divided henceforth solely by year and season, but T. marks its beginning by other chronological standards as well (see on Ch. 1 κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα above): the priesthoods of Argive Hera and the eponymous officials of the two major combatants.

**ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος:** the future participle might be expected, but the formula was ἐπὶ ... Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος, to which T. makes an addition, ‘when P. was archon – for two months more’ (Smart plausibly suggests that this was a gibe at Hellanicus, who began the war under the next archon, Euthydemus). Most editors endorse the change of the numeral to τέσσαρας, but it has been argued (Thompson, ‘Chronology of 432/1’ 218–20 and Smart 25–6) that the close of the month Skirophorion, which ended the archon’s year, could in 431 have been as early as June 8; so that the attack on Plataea – which, as we learn from 4.2, occurred on a moonless night – would have taken place before the new moon of 7 April.

**μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἔκτῳ:** this would date the battle of Potidaea (1.62–3) to October of 432, and here too emendation seems unnecessary (Thompson 220–4).

**2.2 ἐπηγάγοντο** ‘invited them in as protectors’, as factions often turned to one of the two major powers for help (LSJ s.v. ἐπάγω II.2, and cf. 3.82.1 (in wartime) ῥαιδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο).

**τὴν πόλιν Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι:** again the verb is a technical term of στάσις, ‘align their city with Thebes’. (LSJ s.v. I.1, cf. 85.5 and προσποίησις in 3.82.1).

**2.3 Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου:** his father had commanded the Theban forces which deserted at Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.233.2, who notes the son’s death at Plataea).



ἐτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μήπω φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος: τε καὶ joining a positive and negative statement of the same circumstance, e.g. Soph. *O.T.* 1275 πολλάκις τε κούχ ἄπαξ; *GP* 513; cf. Ros 144. φανεροῦ is predicative (36.4n.).

ἦι καὶ ῥᾷον ἔλαθον ἐσελθόντες 'for which reason [the absence of open warfare] they could sneak in more easily'. ἦι καὶ followed by a comparative in T. (1.11.1, 25.4; 3.13.2; 4.1.3, 103.2) introduces an important consequence of some specific situation. The Plataeans later (3.56.2) claim that they were attacked on a festival day (ἱερομηνία, for which see Stengel, *RE* viii.1489; it does *not* (*pace HCT* ii.340 and Smart 25) invariably mean 'the first of the month').

2.4 τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγομένοις: on the meaning see 2.2n. The present expresses their current identity as well as their past action (Sm. 1887; cf. 5.7 οἱ προδιδόντες): 'their collaborators'.

οὐκ ἐπείθοντο ... γνώμην δ' ἐποιοῦντο: negative-positive contrast (Intro. 24): 'they did not obey ... but decided ...' Throughout the following narrative imperfect and aorist sometimes alternate with no apparent difference in meaning (Intro. 22).

ὥστε εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι: with ἐπείθοντο (Sm. 2271a; cf. 101.5).

ἐπιτηδείους 'friendly', LSJ s.v. II.2.

καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ κῆρυξ ... νομίζοντες 'and the herald announced ... since they thought ...' The herald merely carries out the decision of the group (κηρύγμασι ... χρήσασθαι), so that the causal participle νομίζοντες remains in the plural to agree with ἐποιοῦντο (Ros 217; cf. 53.4n.). (Poppo-Stahl attempted to remove the anacoluthon with a parenthesis, but the herald's proclamation is not parenthetical.)

3.1 ἄλλως τε καὶ: lit. 'both in other ways and also', comes to mean 'especially' (Sm. 2980; cf. 50.1).

ἐνεωτέριζον: sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

3.2 πράσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα: πως declines to give details ('somehow or other'), cf. 3.20.2, 8.74.3.

ἐνόμισαν ... κρατῆσαι: the future infinitive would be expected, but the aorist may be used on the analogy of verbs of hoping, etc. (Sm. 1868; see Guy L. Cooper III, *Zur syntaktischen Theorie und Textkritik der attischen Autoren* (diss. Zürich 1971) 130).

τῷ ... πλήθει ... οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν ... ἀφίστασθαι: lit. 'it was not for them wishing', i.e. 'they did not wish ...', an extension of the dative of reference (Sm. 1487; cf. 60.1).

**3.3 ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι:** T. and the poets often prefer the plural for impersonal neuter adjectives, cf. ἐτοῖμα ἦν (3.4, 56.1, 98.1), ἀδύνατα ἦν (1.125.1, 4.1.3) and Sm. 1052.

**Ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινούς τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους:** the participle is modal, 'they assembled by breaking through the common walls into each other's houses'.

**ἀμάξας ... καθίστασαν, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾗ:** the subject of the purpose clause must be inferred ('the resulting structure'), cf. 76.1.

**πρὸς τὰ παρόντα** 'in view of the current situation', cf. 6.1, 22.1, 59.3.

**3.4 ὥς ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν** 'as far as was possible', 42.3n.; cf. ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου below. ὥς introduces a prepositional phrase limiting the statement (K-G II.493-4).

**ὅπως μὴ κατὰ φῶς ... προσφέροιντο καὶ ... γίγνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτὶ ... ἥσους ὥσι:** negative-positive contrast (2.4n.), but with γίγνωνται the subject changes: 'in order that the Plataeans would not be attacking them when they were more confident in daylight, and the Thebans would not be on equal terms with them, but that the Thebans, being more fearful at night, would be defeated by their [the Plataeans'] familiarity with the city'.

**προσφέροιντο καὶ ... γίγνωνται:** for the variation of mood see Ros 382.

**ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες:** cf. 4.128.4 ἐν νυκτερινῇ καὶ φοβεραῖ ἀναχωρήσει.

**4.1 ξυνεστρέφοντο ... ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς** 'they closed ranks among themselves' (for ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς cf. 5.69.2, 8.76.3).

**ἧι προσπίπτοιν:** iterative optative (Sm. 2568), 'wherever they attacked'.

**4.2 δις μὲν:** answered not by δέ, but by ἔπειτα ... ἐφοβήθησαν.

**αὐτῶν τε ... καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ... καὶ ὕετοῦ ἅμα** 'when not only had the Plataeans charged them ... but also the women and slaves began to scream and hit them ... and the rain during the night had been heavy also'. On καὶ ... ἅμα see 42.1n.

**ἄπειροι ... τῶν διόδων ἧι χρὴ σωθῆναι** 'ignorant of the roads, where they could be saved' = 'not knowing by which roads they could be saved'. T. often uses χρὴ + infinitive in indirect questions in place of the potential optative as here (e.g. 1.91.1 οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι, cf. 3.11.5, 3.53.2, 4.34.3 and 51.2n.) or the deliberative sub-

junctive (e.g. 5.62.1 ἐβουλεύοντο ... ἐφ' ὅτι χρή πρῶτον ἰέναι τῶν λοιπῶν; cf. 1.40.5, 4.125.1, 7.44.3).

**τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός:** i.e. on a moonless night.

**ἐμπεύρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν:** the sense is beyond doubt, but the construction of the genitive articular infinitive is not: it might be dependent on the adjective ('skilled at preventing their escape') or express purpose after the participle ('those who pursued them to prevent their escape', cf. 22.1n.).

**4.3 τὰς πύλας ... ἐκλήισε:** usually a sliding bar (μοχλός) extending across the city gates on the inside would be locked in place with a specially fitted pin (βάλανος 'acorn', evidently from its shape; for illustrations see D. Barends, *Lexicon Aineium* (Assen 1955) 162-8). The traitors must have stolen this pin, but now a bronze spear-butt (στυράκιον ἀκοντίου) was jammed in so tightly that it could not be removed.

**4.4 οἱ μὲν τινες ... οἱ δὲ ... ἄλλοι δὲ ... τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον:** enumerating in pathetic detail the attempts of various groups of Thebans to escape. (οἱ μὲν alone would = 'some', but τινες is added also in 21.3 and 91.4.)

**κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκυν:** the word order appears to reproduce the sequence of events (*hyperbaton*, *Introd.* 28): the discovery that the city gate was deserted – acquisition of an axe – success in reaching the gate unnoticed – cutting through the wooden bar – escape – but only for the first few.

**αἰσθησὶς γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο:** the adjective is predicative (36.4 n.): 'discovery followed quickly'.

**4.5 τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ... ἐσπίπτουσιν:** the plural verb with a collective noun (Sm. 950).

**δ ... καὶ αἱ ... θύραι ... αὐτοῦ:** unemphatic αὐτοῦ instead of a further relative (e.g. καὶ οὗ αἱ θύραι), Sm. 1217.

**δ ἦν τοῦ τείχους:** i.e. adjoined the city wall (for reasons of defence, most houses would be built at a distance from it).

**αἱ πλῆσιον θύραι** 'doors near the house' would be nonsense, and so the adverb is often deleted or transposed; but it might also specify (among the several entrances natural to an οἶκημα μέγα) the double-doors which were nearest to the Thebans (so Krüger and Gomme).

**καὶ ἀντικρυς δίοδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω** 'and that straight through them lay a passageway out of the city'.

**4.6 ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν:** sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι, 'in their present state', i.e. 'immediately'.

**τι ἄλλο χρήσωνται:** sc. αὐτοῖς, τι ἄλλο being internal accusative (Sm. 1573; cf. 15.5, 47.4, 60.2): 'make some other use of them'.

**4.7 χρήσασθαι ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται:** limiting infinitive after παραδοῦναι (cf. 30.1), in a formula for unconditional surrender (cf. 4.69.3, 7.85.1): 'to make whatever use of them they wished' (ὅτι is again internal accusative).

**5.1 οὓς ἔδει ... παραγενέσθαι ... εἴ τι ... μὴ προχωροῖν:** an implied indirect statement (Sm. 2622e) reproducing the command the Thebans originally received: παραγένησθε, ἔάν τι ἄρα ἡμῖν μὴ προχωρῇ. The imperative is replaced by ἔδει (cf. 92.7, 95.3), and the verb of the protasis is changed to optative (Sm. 2619b).

**εἰ ... ἄρα:** adding an unlikely possibility (*GP* 37–9, Sm. 2796), 'just in case ...'

**τῆς ἀγγελίας ἅμα ... ῥηθείσης:** the relative clause (οὓς ἔδει κτλ.) and the genitive absolute, while grammatically dissimilar, are both causal, and so are joined by ἅμα: 'not only because they were supposed to be there ... but also because the report had been made to them on the way ...'

**5.2 τὸ ὕδωρ:** i.e. rain (cf. 77.6).

**ἔρρῳ μέγας:** the adjective is predicative, 'rose high'.

**5.3 ὕστερον** 'too late' (as in 80.7).

**5.4 κατασκευή** 'belongings', of permanent individual property (cf. 9.1n. on παρασκευή).

**οἷα ἀπροσδοκῆτου κακοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ γενομένου** 'since the misfortune had occurred unexpectedly in peacetime'; for the absence of the article (and the predicative use of the adjective) cf. 1.102.2 πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυῖας.

**εἴ τινα λάβοιεν:** iterative optative (Sm. 2340): 'if they caught anyone, they wanted him to be available (ὑπάρχειν as in 6.87.4) for them to exchange for the men inside'.

**ἦν ἄρα:** 5.1n.

**5.5 οὔτε ... ὅσια:** predicative, 'that what had been done, they had done immorally'.

**τά τε ἔξω** begins as if adding something parallel to οὔτε ... δράσειαν in the subordinate clause (on οὔτε ... τε see *Introd.* 23), but instead introduces ἔλεγον, parallel to the main verb κήρυκα ἐξέπεμψαν above (*Ros* 427).

ἀναχωρησάντων δέ 'but if they went away ...': a conditional genitive absolute with the subject (τῶν Θηβαίων) omitted (Sm. 2072a; cf. 8.4); the genitive is used even though αὐτοῖς (sc. Θηβαίοις) follows (Sm. 2073).

5.6 οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι ... εὐθύς ὑποσχέσθαι ἀποδώσειν, ἀλλὰ ... ἦν τι ξυμβαίνωσι: οὐχ adheres to a verb of saying (Sm. 2692; cf. οὐ φασίν below) but refers to εὐθύς in a negative-positive contrast (2.4n.): 'they do not agree that they promised to give the men up immediately, but rather if they reached some agreement after negotiations had first taken place'.

5.7 Εὐρύμαχος: 2.3n.

οἱ προδιδόντες: 2.4n.

6.1 πρὸς τὰ παρόντα: 3.3n.

6.2 Τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἡγγέλθη εὐθύς τὰ ... γεγενημένα: 6.2-4 are a digression, explaining that the messenger sent to Athens *after* the execution of the Thebans was not the first; the Athenians had been receiving regular reports and had responded with instructions, which arrived too late.

μηδὲν νεώτερον 'no hostile action'.

### 7-9 Spartan and Athenian preparations

After the attack on Plataea full-scale war seems imminent, but T. lingers over each step leading to it: he notes the final attempts by each side to acquire additional allies and shore up weaknesses in its own defences (7), then gives an estimate of public opinion (8), a list of the respective allies (9), a pair of speeches by the opposing leaders, Archidamus and Pericles (10-13), and, finally, describes the withdrawal of the rural population of Attica into the city (14-16).

7.1 παρεσκευάζοντο 'equipped themselves' (9.1n.)

πρεσβείας τε μέλλοντες πέμπειν ... πόλεις τε ξυμμαχίδας ποιούμενοι: as ἑκάτεροι shows, the participles apply to both Athens and Sparta.

παρὰ βασιλέα: i.e. the king of Persia, whose support was to become an important factor. Athens sent embassies (4.50.3; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 100-14) and may have made a treaty of friendship with Persia in 424/3 (Andoc. 3.29; cf. M-L no. 70; Rhodes, *Athenian Empire* 31-2).

But eventually the Persians backed Sparta. See in general D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Cincinnati Classical Studies I, Leiden 1977) 76-7, 90-107.

**ἄλλοσε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους**: Athens made alliances in Thrace and Macedonia (2.29), Sparta with various tribes in north-western Greece (2.80.5-6).

**7.2 Λακεδαιμονίοις ... ἐπετάχθη**: dative of agent with impersonal verb (Sm. 1492, cf. 41.4n.). The group to which the command is given is also dative (τοῖς τάκείνων ἐλομένοις, 'those who had chosen their [the Spartans'] side'), but shifts later to accusative ἡσυχάζοντας (39.4n.).

**πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις** 'in addition to the ships *there* (in the Peloponnese)'.

**ὥς ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων νεῶν ἐσομένων** 'with the intention that there would be 500 ships in the total'. This may refer to the intended total of all Peloponnesian ships, but even so it is a astonishingly large number (see *HCT* II.7).

**μῆτι νηί**: dative of 'military accompaniment' (Sm. 1526a), here with Ἀθηναίους.

**7.3 εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτ' εἴη βεβαίως**: the original ἐάν + subjunctive has been changed to optative in indirect discourse (ὀρῶντες with future participle), cf. 5.1n.

**8.1 Ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδέν** 'in short, they were forming great plans' (litotes, as in 7.59.3, 87.6, 8.15.2, Introd. 27). On τε as a summarising sentence-connective see Introd. 23, *GP* 500.

**νεότης**: cf. 21.2. The contrast between youthful bellicosity and mature caution is especially stressed in the speeches of Nicias and Alcibiades on the Sicilian expedition (6.8-23). In 8.1-3 T. uses precise sentence-connection and repetition of πολὺς for rhetorical effect:

1. ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται

2. τότε δὲ καὶ

A. ἡ νεότης ... ἥπτετο τοῦ πολέμου

1. πολλὴ μὲν οὔσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ

2. πολλὴ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις

B. ἡ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλάς ... μετέωρος ἦν

3. καὶ

A. πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγοντο

B. πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾔδον

1. ἔν τε τοῖς μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν

2. καὶ ἔν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι

4. ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη

5. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ... εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο ξυνέβη ... ἀνεζητεῖτο

**8.2 λόγια** 'prophecies' (in general); for the plural ἐλέγοντο with a neuter plural subject see Ros 219.

**8.3 πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα:** Hdt. 6.98.1-3 reports an earthquake at Delos just before the battle of Marathon; but after each earthquake Delian propaganda evidently succeeded in re-establishing the legend that it was immune (Pindar fr. 87; *FGrHist* 124 (Callisthenes) F20 (= Seneca, *Nat. Q.* 6.26.3); Callimachus, *Hymn* 4.11 with scholia). Schwartz, *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (Bonn 1919) 265 remarks that T. will not have been over-concerned to establish the facts in a section dealing with oracles and portents (cf. 54.2-54.5n.).

ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ... σημῆναι 'it [the earthquake] was reported, and believed to be a sign ...'

**8.4 Athens' unpopularity.** The Delian league had originated in the Greeks' desire, after the victories of 480-479, to punish Persia and free the Ionians; all members were autonomous, but Athens was the acknowledged leader (1.95-97.1, on which see Rhodes, *Athenian Empire* 5-11). Yet Athenian financial demands, internal interference and threats of force turned 'allies' (ξύμμαχοι) into 'subjects' (υὑπήκοοι). While he admires Athenian power, T. is so blunt about her unpopularity that he may even exaggerate it (de Ste Croix, 'The character of the Athenian empire', *Historia* 3 (1954-5) 1-41, and *Origins* 34-43); at any rate, there were instances of signal loyalty as well as occasional desertions (J. de Romilly, 'Thucydides and the cities of the Athenian Empire', *B.I.C.S.* 13 (1966) 1-12).

**Ἡ δὲ εὖνοια παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει ... ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους:** The use of ποιεῖν is difficult - it is imitated from this passage by later historians (LSJ s.v. ποιεῖν B.11.2), but unexampled before T. Most commentators assume an idiom ποιεῖν ἐς = 'be directed toward', but perhaps there is a better possibility: (1) The whole phrase ἡ εὖνοια ... τῶν ἀνθρώπων ... ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους is best taken together (cf. τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἐς με 'your anger at me' 60.1; in the present passage the placing of εὖνοια and Λακεδαιμονίους at the two most emphatic positions (beginning and end of sentence) produces an 'interlacing' word order, see *Introd.* 28). (2) Then ἐποίει will be absolute, as apparently



in 4.12.3: ἐπὶ πολὺ ... ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ πεζὰ κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πλεῖστον προὔχειν 'at the time, the greater part of their reputation (ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς δόξης is evidently *subject*; so Krüger, cf. K-G 1.31-2) consisted in being land-based and best at infantry for one side, and in being nautical and excelling in ships for the other'. (Cf. ποιεῖν τὸ αὐτό = 'have the same importance' 2.89.2, 7.6.1.) Taken thus, the phrase means 'partiality toward the Spartans was much more prevalent [than for the Athenians]'.

παρὰ πολὺ 'by far', with μᾶλλον as in 8.6.3.

προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν 'since they [the Spartans] had proclaimed that they were trying to free Greece'. The accusative Λακεδαιμονίους is continued in a genitive absolute, see K-G II.110, and cf. 5.5n.; the present ἐλευθεροῦσιν has a conative force (Sm. 1878; K-G 1.140).

Spartan propaganda claimed that, whereas Athens had once promised freedom from Persia, the allies now needed freedom from Athens herself; see Hans Diller, 'Freiheit bei Thukydides als Schlagwort und als Wirklichkeit', *Gymnasium* 69 (1962) 189-204 = Herter (ed.), *Thukydides* 639-60, and Kurt Raaflaub, *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit* (Vestigia 37, Munich 1985) 215-57. Pericles later (63.1) makes light of 'freedom' as the goal of the war; but he too acknowledges that Athens' rule is based on oppression (see 63.2n.).

ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις ... ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς: τε introduces a summary (8.11n.), especially with forms of πᾶς (e.g. παντί τε τρόπῳ 21.3, πανταχόθεν τε 59.2, Bruno Hammer, *De τε particulae usu Herodoteo Thucydideo Xenophonteo* (diss. Leipzig 1904) 46-7, Introd. 23).

One of the few extant Spartan inscriptions (M-L no. 67) records voluntary contributions made to her 'for the war' by various Greek states and individuals; it may be as early as 427 B.C.

ἐν τούτῳ τε: τε adds an explanatory sentence; Hammer (*De τε particulae usu* 45) compares 1.77.4, 98.4, 2.13.5, 4.19.4, 66.3, 92.3.

ἐν τούτῳ ... κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα, ὥι μή τις αὐτὸς παρέσται: the preposition is temporal (1.11n.) and is to be understood again with the relative (Sm. 1671): 'each individual thought that the cause suffered on any occasion on which [i.e. 'when-ever'] he was not personally willing to assist'. The original thought

would have been ἐν τούτῳ κωλυθήσεται τὰ πράγματα, ὥι μὴ παρέσομαι. Here the future is retained in one clause to express intention (Sm. 2563), but altered to the perfect in the other to emphasise the certainty of the result (K-G 1.150). The sentence is repeated, with variations of subject and tense, in 4.14.2 ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἕκαστος, ὥι μὴ τινὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῇν.

**9.1-9.6 The catalogue of allies.** Its stylistic, logical and historical flaws have been collected by J. D. Smart, 'Catalogues in Thucydides and Ephorus', *G.R.B.S.* 18 (1977) 33-42, who argues that it is an interpolation modelled after the list of allies (preserved in Diodorus 12.42.4-5) by the fourth-century universal historian Ephorus. Not all of these alleged flaws exist (see nn. below); but it is true that the twofold division of each list - Peloponnesian vs. extra-Peloponnesian allies for Sparta, independent vs. subservient allies for Athens - offers disappointingly little information on the actual organization of the two alliances. Like other sections in the opening of Book 2 (the dates, 2.1; the preparations Ch. 7; the paired speeches, Chs. 10-13) the catalogue fills a formula (cf. Homer, *Il.* 2.484-877, Hdt. 7.60-99), so that its perfunctory execution need not deny it to T.

**9.1 Παρασκευῇ μὲν οὖν καὶ γνώμῃ τοιαύτῃ ὥρμηντο:** datives of accompanying circumstance, Sm. 1527: 'with such preparation and attitude they started out' (ὥρμησθαι absolute as in 8.11.3).

παρασκευή, a favourite word of T., may be used of (1) the *act* of preparing (e.g. 17.5, 80.3), (2) the *state* of preparedness (so evidently here, cf. 9.6n.) or (3) the *product* of preparation ('equipment', e.g. 100.2; cf. 5.4n. on κατασκευή). But it is often difficult to decide for only one meaning, see June W. Allison, 'ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ: process-product ambiguity in Thucydides vi', *Hermes* 109 (1981) 118-23. On the meanings of γνώμη see 38.1n.

**ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο:** 1.1n.

**9.2 Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ:** limiting apposition (Sm. 983), cf. 47.2 Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη, 54.2 (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, 89.6. It specifies that 'Peloponnesians' (contrasted with ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου below - cf. Smart 33) are here meant geographically, not as the whole alliance. (T. is avoiding a simple antithesis, e.g. οἶδε ξύμμαχοι· οἱ μὲν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ ... οἱ δὲ ἔξω Πελοποννήσου.)

**Μεγαρεῖς, Βοιωτοί, Λοκροί, Φωκῆς, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι,**

**Ἀνακτόριοι:** The list begins with Megara and moves north-westward, along the north side of the gulf of Corinth (it is clear, *pace* Smart 33–4 n. 3, that the eastern Locrians are meant, not the ones on the other side of Phocis; see Gomme *ad loc.*) until it reaches the Ambraciots on the coast; then it turns south to Anactorium and Leucas.

**9.3 ναυτικὸν παρεῖχοντο ... ἱππέας δὲ ... πεζὸν παρεῖχον:** as Smart 34 n. 4 remarks, this is an incorrect formulation, since many states obviously provided more than one kind of assistance.

**9.4 Ἀθηναίων δέ:** The Athenian allies are listed in two groups:

1. Those which were, for various reasons, relatively independent:  
**Chios and Lesbos** still maintained their own navies and possessed special privileges (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.2; Thuc. 1.19, 3.10.5; Samos did too until the revolt of 440).  
**Plataea and Naupactus** were not league members, but Athenian outposts near unfriendly territory.  
**Acarnania, Corcyra and Zacynthus** were recently acquired φίλοι from around the Peloponnese (2.7.3).
2. Those which were subservient, contributing money (ὑποτελεῖς οὔσαι) instead of ships, and without any real self-determination; for these T. gives only a list by regions, which correspond roughly to the five districts (Caria, Ionia, Hellespont, Thrace and Islands) used in the Athenian tribute lists beginning in 442 (cf. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 244) and continuing until 425, when the Euxine region was added (Meiggs 328). But he makes a further subdivision based on race (ἔθνη), listing separately the Dorian cities of 'Caria'.

The twofold listing allows T. to abbreviate his catalogue, but it may be misleading – we should not deduce from the first part two permanent classes of membership in the empire (see Rhodes, *Athenian Empire* 27), nor from the second part that any subdivisions were made by race (see *HCT* II.11).

**Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ:** Messenian rebels against Sparta had been settled there by Athens (1.103.1–3).

**καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ... ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε· Καρία κτλ.:** the regions are listed in the nominative as if appositive to πόλεις.

**ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντα** 'the islands to the east of the Peloponnese [in the north] and Crete [in the south]'. ἐντὸς with πρὸς in T. designates territory moving from one

fixed boundary in a particular direction (1.16.1 ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἑλίου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν 'from the Halys river to the sea'). Here we are given *two* fixed points, to draw a line between the eastern and western Mediterranean (cf. 96.1n.). ἐντὸς with two genitives might mean 'between' (e.g. 1.46.4), but 'between the Peloponnese and Crete to the east' would be nonsense – the line between them does not run eastward, and the only island there would be the Spartan Cythera.)

πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι [Κυκλάδες] πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας: since ὅσαι ... ἀνίσχοντα already includes the entire eastern Mediterranean, it is impossible to set these words off with a comma (so Stuart Jones and Classen–Steup) to designate a *separate* group of islands; rather they *continue* the same description, and Poppo's deletion of Κυκλάδες (on the assumption that it was a marginal gloss which has intruded into the text) is necessary. πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι goes closely (and somewhat illogically) with πλὴν: 'except for Melos and Thera, *all the rest* of the islands to the east of the Peloponnese and Crete'. (Cf. Hdt. 2.64.1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, 7.225.2 πάντες ἄλλες οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Θηβαίων.)

9.6 παρασκευή is so ambiguous (9.1n.) that it is not clear whether it means here the 'equipment' (ships, cavalry, infantry, money) noted in 9.3 and 9.5 or the 'state of preparedness' described in Chapter 7.

### 10–13 The speeches of Archidamus and Pericles

Before military engagements (2.87–9, 4.92–5, 7.61–8) T. sometimes gives pairs of speeches, in which the opposing commanders remind their troops of the issues involved, and give them advice and encouragement for the fight to come. (See in general Luschnat, *Feldherrnreden*, and T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (University of Chicago Studies in classical philology 3, 1902) 211–14.)

Strictly speaking, neither of the following speeches is of this type – they do not precede a battle, and Pericles' speech (although it concerns prospects for war) is not even given to soldiers; but T. exploits the convention to re-introduce the generals of Sparta and Athens, and to review the arguments they have already presented in detail (Archidamus in 1.79–85, Pericles in 1.140–4). Both leaders attempt to dispel the prevailing moods of their followers – overconfidence among the Peloponnesians, panic in Athens.

**10.1 περιήγγελλον:** a verb of commanding, in imperfect because many cities received the orders. The logical word order would have been περιήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ... παρασκευάζεσθαι (*hyperbaton*).

**10.2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκάστοις ἐτοῖμα γίγνοιτο** 'whenever each of them felt ready ...' Iterative optative (Sm. 2414), describing the ongoing process of gathering the army from many cities.

**τὰ δύο μέρη:** 47.2n.

**10.3 Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων:** Archidamus II, now king of the Eurypontid house (the Agiad kings Pausanias and Pleistoanax play no part in the war at this stage), had led the Spartans already during the helot revolt of 464, and doubtless in many other campaigns since then. In 1.79-85 T. introduces him as ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, and makes him warn of the dangers of a hasty entry into a war against such a well-prepared adversary. His arguments there are rejected, and he himself leads the invasion he counselled against; but he continues to urge caution to his troops (11.3-8n.), and even as general employs every available means of delay (18-23n.). Archidamus also leads the invasions of 430 (47.2), 429 (to Plataea, 71.1) and 428 (3.1.1), but not thereafter; he presumably died in 427/6.

The name 'Archidamian war' is often given to the years 431-421 (already in Lysias fr. ix Thalheim). 'It is one of the ironies of history that the name ... should have become attached to a war which he had opposed and scarcely half of which had elapsed when [he] died' (de Ste Croix, *Origins* 295). Yet in his eloquence in defending his country's values (1.84) and his insight into the psychological importance of the Attic countryside (2.18-23n.), the Thucydidean Archidamus is a worthy opponent for Pericles.

For Archidamus see Westlake, *Individuals* 122-35; de Ste Croix, *Origins* 141-3; A. Rhamou-Hapsiadis, *Archidamos* (Athens 1974; *non vidi*); Bloedow, 'Archidamus the "intelligent" Spartan', *Klio* 65 (1983) 27-49. On his speech here see especially Luschnat, *Feldherrnreden* 10-20; there is a rhetorical analysis in Rüdiger Leimbach, *Militärische Musterrhetorik: eine Untersuchung zu den Feldherrnreden des Thukydides* (Wiesbaden 1985) 16-27.

**ἀξιωτάτους παρῆναι** 'most worthy of being in attendance' at the select gathering (so Classen-Steup and Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 35 (1900)

556 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1962) IV.134). It is difficult to see why other editors have preferred the reading *ἀξιολογωτάτους*, and adopted Sintenis' improbable *παρήνει τοιάδε* [ἔλεξεν]; in any case *παρήνει τοιάδε* is used by T. to introduce specific policy recommendations to the Athenian assembly (Pericles 1.139.4, 2.13.2; Nicias 6.8.4; Alcibiades 6.15.5), and is not the right word for what Archidamus does here.

**τοιάδ'**: Introd. 15 n. 48.

**11.1-2** We have a powerful opponent; but this is the largest and best-prepared army we have ever assembled, and all Greece wishes for our victory.

**11.1** οὐπω μείζονα ... ἀλλὰ ... νῦν ... πλεῖστοι: negative-positive contrast, cf. 2.4n.

**καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες**: καὶ joins superlatives that are not grammatically parallel (*variatio*, Introd. 27), and νῦν ἐρχόμεθα goes with both phrases: 'we are proceeding not only against a city at the height of its power, but also with our largest and best force'. For αὐτοί see 40.2n.

**11.2** εὐνοίαν ἔχουσα ... πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς ... 'hoping that we accomplish ...', treated as a verb of desire, hence with aorist infinitive (Sm. 1991).

**11.3-5** Despite our power and popularity, anxious caution (δέος) is necessary, as always in warfare.

**11.3** εἰ τῷ καὶ δοκοῦμεν 'even though you think ...' τῷ = τινι, alluding to the troops themselves (Sm. 1267); on εἰ ... καὶ see GP 300 (cf. εἰ τις καὶ 63.2).

**πλήθει** 'with a large force', of military accompaniment (7.2n.).

**ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι**: sc. δοκεῖ. For the following construction see 49.6n. ἐλθεῖν διὰ μάχης = 'enter into battle with', Sm. 1685d.

**ἀμελέστερόν τι** 'at all less carefully', τι with comparative (Sm. 1514), as in τι μᾶλλον 22.1.

**τὸ καθ' αὐτόν**: an adverbial accusative (Sm. 1601c), 'personally' (as in 60.3, 87.8; cf. τὰ πολλά = 'usually' in the next sentence (and in 87.6)).

**11.4** τὰ τῶν πολέμων: 60.1n.

**ἐξ ὀλίγου ... καὶ δι' ὀργῆς** 'suddenly (42.3n.) and in a state of passion'.

**Πολλάκις τε:** on τε as a sentence connective, *Introd.* 23.

**δεδιός:** conditional, 'if it is cautious'. On the positive aspects of δέος see 37.3n. and, for δέος in war, Plato, *Phaedo* 68d.

**ἄμεινον ἡμύνατο κτλ.:** comparative adverb and gnomic aorist (Sm. 1931), 'does better at turning back a numerically superior opponent ...'

**11.5** τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρεσκευάσθαι 'to fight with bold resolution, but be prepared with realistic caution'. Despite their initial position, the contrast is not between the datives of respect γνώμῃ and ἔργῳ (40.1n.), but between στρατεύειν and παρεσκευάσθαι, so that the sentiment of Artabanus in *Hdt.* 7.49.5 (ἀνὴρ ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἄρρωδέοι ... ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη) is not opposite (*pace* Luschkat, *Feldherrnreden* 18), but identical.

**πρός τε τὸ ἐπιέναι ... πρὸς τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ...** 'more confident for attacking ... more secure against being attacked ...'

**11.6-8** Caution is especially necessary now, since the Athenians are likely to abandon their own caution when invaded, under the influence of passion (ὄργη, θυμός). (In fact Archidamus is *hoping* they will do so, 2.18-23n.)

**11.6** οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν: *hyperbaton*, the emphatic words being placed first (*Introd.* 28) = οὐδ' ἐπὶ πόλιν οὕτω ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι, 'nor are we proceeding against a city so incapable of resistance [as the ἔλασσον πλῆθος assumed in the generalisation above]'.  
**τοῖς πᾶσιν:** 36.3n.

**εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν ... ἀλλ' ὅταν ...** 'if not even now ... at least when ...' (*GP* 12).

**11.7** πᾶσι γὰρ κτλ.: the sense is clear: Thucydidean speakers note elsewhere that rage (ὄργη) is greatest at the instant a wrong is suffered, cf. 6.89.3 (εἴ τις καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ πάσχειν οὐκ εἰκότως ὠργίζετο μοι); 3.38.1 (a delay in deciding upon punishment is to the advantage of the criminals, ὁ γὰρ παθὼν τῷ δράσαντι [note the tenses] ἀμβλυτέραι τῇ ὄργῃ ἐπεξέρχεται, cf. 2.65.4); 5.63.2 (ἐβούλευον εὐθύς ὑπ' ὄργῃς παρὰ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἑαυτῶν). Archidamus suggests the same here, but adds that being an inactive *watcher* of sufferings (cf. *περιορᾶν* 20.2, 21.2) makes rational deliberation even more difficult. His generalisation accurately predicts the Athenian reaction to the invasion in



21.2: αὐτοῖς ... γῆς τεινομένης ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ (~ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι here), ὁ οὐπω ἐοράκεσαν (~ ἄηθες here), ... δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο (~ ὀργὴ προσπίπτει here).

But the expression ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες is extremely awkward and may be corrupt, although no convincing correction has been offered. There are two interpretations of the syntax, both difficult to parallel: (1) ἐν τῷ ... ὁρᾶν is a temporal articular infinitive ('at the moment when they see ...', cf. 6.89.3 quoted above) and, assuming extreme hyperbaton, ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι (instrumental, 'before their very eyes', cf. Soph. *Trach.* 241) καὶ ... παραυτίκα belong within it. (So Nicklin, *C.R.* 18 (1904) 199.) (2) Take ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα alone (cf. 7.71.7, and ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα Antiph. *Herod.* 73; Plato, *Prot.* 353D), and join ὁρᾶν with ὀργὴ προσπίπτει (an odd construction, but cf. Hdt. 1.61 τὸν δὲ δεινὸν τι ἔσχε ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου 'anger possessed him at being disgraced by Pisistratus', Luschkat, *Feldherrnreden* 19 n.1). Then πάσχοντας will either be the object of ὁρᾶν (so Krüger), or the subject (picking up the dative πᾶσι, cf. 39.4n.).

Assuming the latter we might translate: 'for rage overcomes all at watching, suddenly and before their very eyes, as they suffer something they do not think right'.

οἱ λογισμῶι ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι: often assumed to be true of Athenians (40.2-3n.).

ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται 'enter into action' (1.1n.).

11.8 τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν: from τὴν τῶν πέλας διοῦν above supply διοιμένην here (Sm. 3018a, cf. 86.4).

11.9 Concluding exhortation to κόσμος (here of military discipline, see Julia Kerchensteiner, *Kosmos: Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu den Vorsokratikern* (Zetemata 30, Munich 1962) 11-13).

ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα: i.e. for either good or bad.

τις: i.e. your leaders, 11.3n.

περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι 'considering all-important', Sm. 1373.

12.1 ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην: i.e. a member of the select group of full citizens; see in general M. M. Austin and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and social history of ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1977) 82-4. Melesippus had also been used for the last mission to Athens (1.139.3).

ἀποστέλλει: note the variety of narrative tenses in this chapter:

historical presents (also ἀποπέμπουσιν and ξυμπέμπουσιν 12.2), and imperfects (ἐκέλευον 12.2, ἐπορεύετο 12.3, προυχώρει 12.4, παρείχοντο and ἐδήμιον 12.5) as well as aorists. See *Introd.* 22.

**εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοῖεν:** on εἴ ἄρα see 5.1n. τι goes with the verb (cf. 18.5, and οὐδὲν ... ἐνδώσουσιν below), 'just in case they should be somewhat more conciliatory' (than on the Spartans' last mission, 1.145).

**12.2 οὐ ... ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν:** we would say 'did not allow him to come before the public, nor even into the city', but the order is reversed when the emphatic phrase is placed first (cf. K-G 11.603; Sm. 3030; cf. 93.1n.).

**ἦν ... νενικηκυῖα** 'had prevailed' (periphrastic, see on ἀρκοῦν ... εἶναι, 35.1). The substance of Pericles' strategy (γνώμη, 38.1n.) is given in κήρυκα ... μὴ προσδέχεσθαι.

**ἐξεστρατευμένων** = ἐν ὁδῶι ὄντων (as in 5.55.4).

**ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν:** the tense is emphatic: 'only after they had withdrawn to their own territory'. (αὐτῶν is appositive to the genitive implied in σφέτερα, Sm. 977.)

**12.4 οὕτω δὴ:** emphasising the apodosis, *GP* 224 (cf. 19.1, 70.1, 83.3).

**ἄρας** 'breaking camp'. Intransitive, used of beginning an expedition with ships (23.1, 25.3, 56.6) or land forces (98.1) often with a dative of military accompaniment (7.2n.) as here.

**12.5 μέρος ... τὸ σφέτερον** 'their own contribution', i.e. two-thirds of their army (cf. 2.10.2).

**τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις** 'with the remaining troops'.

**13 Pericles.** Other sources show that Pericles' greatest successes occurred in the 450s and 440s when, as Athens' controversial but irresistible leader, he pursued a policy of foreign expansionism and domestic revival. But T. looks only at the end of his career (431-429), and sees in Pericles' control of Athenian public opinion and strategic insight the most brilliant leadership of the war (2.65nn.). His speeches reflect this emphasis: apart from the funeral oration, they consist of three successive attempts (1.140-4, 2.13, 2.59-64) to elucidate and justify a single strategy to his people.

On Pericles' career the literature is vast; the best place to begin is Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, and the articles collected by Gerhard Wirth,

*Perikles und seine Zeit* Darmstadt 1979 with the bibliography 535-59. On T.'s own, more limited, portrait of Pericles see especially Westlake, *Individuals* 23-42; M. Chambers, 'Thucydides and Pericles', *H.S.C.P.* 72 (1957) 79-92 = Wirth, *Perikles* 162-77; and 2.65nn.

The speech begins with the report of a particular remark in the assembly (13.1), but continues in indirect statement so that Thucydides can insert his own notes, see Dover, *HCT* v.392 to make Pericles recapitulate his strategy for victory (13.2n.) and fulfil a promise made earlier (1.144.1, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι ... ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται by listing Athens' abundant financial and military resources for the war (see 13.3-8nn.).

T. never hesitates to insert explanations of topics possibly unfamiliar to his readers (19.2n.), and here he twice interrupts the speech with explanatory 'footnotes', once (13.3) on a recent decrease in the cash reserves on the acropolis, and again (13.7) on the extent of the walls which the home-guards were required to garrison.

στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτός 'being a general at Athens, along with nine others'. The only elected office held by Pericles - uninterrupted from 443 until his death in 429 (Plutarch, *Pericles* 16.3) - was membership on the board of ten Athenian στρατηγοί. The phrase δέκατος αὐτός (Sm. 1209e) indicates that Pericles is the most important general for T.'s current narrative, but it is important to note that there was no legal basis for any one general to be a superior 'chairman of the board'; Pericles' authority must have been based on his day-to-day political and military skill. See the discussion of K. J. Dover, 'ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ', *J.H.S.* 80 (1960) 61-77 as refined by Charles W. Fornara, *The Athenian board of generals from 501 to 404* (Historia Einzelschriften 16, Wiesbaden 1971) 28-36 and Westlake, *Individuals* 24 n. 3.

ὑποτοπήσας ... μὴ πολλάκις ... 'suspecting that perhaps ...' ὑποτοπέω is treated as a verb of fearing; for the meaning of πολλάκις see LSJ s.v. III.

παραλίπηι καὶ μὴ δηιώσῃ: cf. 2.3n.

ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ: of purpose (cf. 37.3n.), 'to make him unpopular'. The pronoun refers to Pericles again, a variation for αὐτῷ and αὐτοῦ above (Ros 114).

ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγῃ ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον: for the plural of the abstract noun see 39.1n. The Spartans had attempted to make an issue of the

presence in Athens of descendants (among them Pericles) of men under a curse for killing suppliants, 1.126-7.

**προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ**: the imperfect is used for all the verbs of saying in this chapter, as often in T. (Intro. 22; Sm. 1891); it does not imply that the statements reported here were distributed over several occasions.

**οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῶι ... γένοιτο**: with γένοιτο (note the change of tense from εἶη) sc. ξένος: 'he used to be his ξένος, but he had not been it to the detriment of the city'.

**ὥσπερ καί**: 28.1n.

**ἀφήσιν ... δημόσια εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν ... γίγνεσθαι** 'that he would give them up to be public – and let no suspicion attach to him'. ἀφήσιν is emphatic for the future (Sm. 1879); γίγνεσθαι stands for an imperative (cf. 3.71.1 εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα ... βέλτιστα εἶη ... τό τε λοιπὸν μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ...).

**13.2** Pericles' strategy for the opening of the war was to attack the Peloponnesians by sea on their own territory (23.2-3n.), while refraining completely from engaging them by land, and defending Athens only from within its superb fortifications (see 13.7n.). This plan necessitated abandoning Attica at large to annual Peloponnesian devastation, which Pericles justifies in his first speech (1.143.4):

'... and so if they attack our country by land we shall attack theirs by sea, and the devastation of a fraction of the Peloponnese will prove to be much worse than of all Attica; they will be able to acquire new territory only by conquest, while we have much of it both in the islands and on the mainland, because our sea-power is so great.

'Just consider: if we lived on an island, who could be more invincible? In fact, we must make up our minds to act exactly as if this were true, abandoning our farms and homes, defending our city and the sea, and despite our anger for their loss never engaging the much more numerous force of Peloponnesians ... and mourning not the loss of homes and farms, but of lives; those things cannot bring our men back, but our men can bring them back.

'If I thought I would convince you, I would tell you to go out and burn them yourselves, and show the Peloponnesians that merely to save *these* you will never give in.'

(Cf. Ps.-Xen. *Const. of Athens* II.16; Ar. *Frogs* 1463-5.) This plan – defence of the city rather than of territory – resembled that used by the naval power Miletus against Alyattes of Lydia (Hdt. 1.17-22), and may have been conceived already by Themistocles (if the construction of the walls around Piraeus and of the fleet were part of a single scheme, Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 45); but it was fiercely opposed in Athens, at different stages on opposite grounds – during the first invasion as cowardly (21.3n.), during the second one (after the plague, 52.1n.) as excessively fierce (59.1-2n.) and imperialist (63.2n.). It alienated the rural population of Attica (16.2), and tempted Archidamus to try to manipulate Athenian public opinion (2.20.1n.). But T. stresses that it was strategically sound (65.7, 13), and was maintained with such consistency (61.2n.) that it may be said to have won the 10 years' war for Athens.

See in general Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 44-65; Kagan, *Archidamian war* 49-57.

**Παρήνινει δὲ καὶ . . . ἄπερ καὶ πρότερον**: on redundant καὶ in relative clauses see *GP* 295.

**διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν** 'control' (see on 37.2, and K-G 1.482-3).

**ἀπὸ τούτων . . . τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου**: between a preposition and its genitive object T. frequently interposes still another dependent genitive, e.g. 1.32.2 μετὰ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως, 2.29.3 διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ, 3.46.4 ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεινότητος; see Otto Diener, *De sermone Thucydidis* (Leipzig 1889) 75ff. (and cf. on 2.42.4 δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης).

**13.3-8** The financial and military resources of Athens are enumerated in great detail (those marked with an asterisk have been disputed):

#### Money

Annual income from Tribute: \*600 talents

#### Acropolis:

Cash reserves: 6,000 talents

Value of other gold and silver: 500+ talents

Value of gold from statue of Athena (available for loan): \*40 talents

#### Other sanctuaries:

Cash reserves (χρήματα) available for loan: unspecified (οὐκ ὀλίγα)

## Military forces

Hoplites: 13,000

Home defence forces (reserves): \*16,000

Cavalry: 1,200

Archers: 1,600

Triremes operable: 300

For a detailed comparison of T.'s figures with other evidence (especially the Athenian tribute lists) see *HCT* II.16 47.

**13.3 ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων:** the tribute lists give 430, but see Rhodes, *Athenian empire* 8, and especially Finley, 'The Athenian empire: a balance sheet', *Economy and society in ancient Greece* (ed. B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller, London 1981) 48.

ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ 'usually', as 1.12.2, 5.107.1, 6.46.4.

τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα ... ἐγένετο 'the greatest amount had been ...' In fact the final cost of the siege of Potidaea (2,000 talents according to 2.70.2) and of the acropolis buildings (perhaps 2,012 talents, but see *HCT* II.21 2) would run to even more than the 3,700 talents assumed here.

**13.4 χωρὶς δέ:** adverbial, 'and in addition' (χρυσίου and ἀργυρίου depend on ταλάντων below).

**13.5 καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσοῖς:** sc. ἔφη χρήσασθαι, '[he said they could use] even the inlaid gold of the goddess herself'. Pericles' friend Pheidias had developed the technique of *chryselephantine* sculpture, which involved placing panels of ivory (to represent skin) and gold (to represent clothing) on a wooden frame; he used it for the statue of Athena in the Parthenon (440-438), to which Pericles refers here; see Pausanias 1.24.5 and Neda Leipen, *Athena parthenos: a reconstruction* (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 1971). T. passes over the fact that Pheidias was charged with embezzlement in the purchase of some of the ivory (Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 121) and left Athens shortly after the statue's completion (see Guy Donnay, 'Le date du procès de Phidias', *A.C.* 37 (1968) 19-36).

**τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα:** Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 121 says 44 talents, Diodorus 12.40.3 says 50.

**ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον ... καὶ ... εἶναι:** the indirect statement passes from participle to infinitive (*variatio*, Ros 405).

**σταθμόν:** accusative of respect, 'in weight'.

**περιαιρετόν** 'removable', so that it could be used in financial emergencies; Plutarch's garbled version of Pheidias' trial (*Pericles* 31.3)

makes this a clever precaution by Pericles, to allow charges of embezzlement to be disproved.

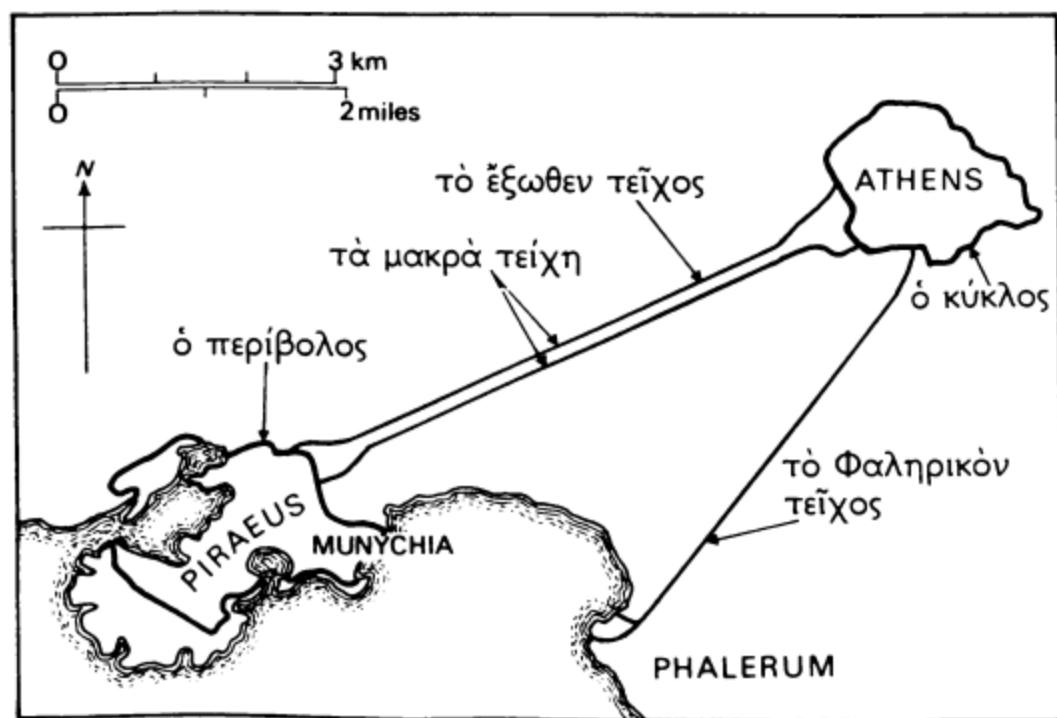
**χρησαμένους τε:** τε is explanatory (see 8.4n.), the participle is conditional.

**χρῆναι ... ἀντικαταστήσαι** stands for an imperative of direct statement (Sm. 2633b).

**13.6 ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων:** the number has often been challenged as too large in comparison with the 13,000 troops on active duty, but see *HCT* II.34–9 and M. H. Hansen, 'The number of Athenian hoplites in 431 B.C.', *S.O.* 56 (1981) 19–32.

**13.7 The walls of Athens.** τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον κτλ. is not part of Pericles' speech (there is no verb of saying or infinitive), but a long parenthesis by T. to explain the phrase τῶν παρ' ἑπαλξιν for non-Athenians; as such it interrupts the progression from ὀπλίτας (13.6) to ἱππέας ... καὶ τριήρεις (13.8).

T. enumerates the following (for locations see Map 1; for testimonia and bibliography see the catalogue in J. P. Boersma, *Athenian building policy* (Groningen 1970) 154–8): κύκλος: the city wall of Athens



Map 1. The walls of Athens (Thuc. 2.13.7)



(Boersma no. 7); Πειραιῶς περίβολος: the city wall of Piraeus (Boersma no. 9); Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος: the long wall from Athens to Phaleron (Boersma no. 11); μακρὰ τεῖχη: the long walls from Athens to Piraeus (Boersma no. 11). The lengths in stades seem to be approximations, see *HCT* iv.468.

T. had already noted the Piraeus wall as a project of Themistocles (1.93), and the completion of the long walls c. 457 (1.107); their unique nature is illustrated by the Spartans' demand at the end of the war (Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.20) that *only* the long walls (not the city wall of Athens itself) be demolished: 'the city wall was the image of Athens' autonomy, but the walls which linked it to the sea embodied its imperialism' (Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 49).

See in general R. L. Scranton, 'The fortifications of Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war', *A.J.A.* 42 (1938) 525–36; Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 45–50; R. E. Wycherly, *The stones of Athens* (Princeton 1978) 7–25.

13.9 τῷ πολέμῳ 'in the war', as in 64.3, 65.13.

#### 14–17 The evacuation of Attica

Pericles' strategy (13.2n.) was to defend only the city; though he approves the policy, T. emphasises how much hardship and resentment it produced when the rural population had to abandon its homes for refuge inside the walls (cf. Xen. *Oec.* 6.6–7 and V. O. Hansen, *Warfare and agriculture in classical Greece* (Pisa 1983) 111–26). The natural antipathy between the populations of town and country was thereby exacerbated. (The contrast is studied – with very different conclusions – by S. C. Humphreys, 'Town and country in ancient Greece' in *Man, settlement and urbanism*, ed. Ucko, Tringham and Dimbleby (London 1972) 763–8; R. Osborne, *Demos* (Cambridge 1985); and D. Whitehead, *The demes of Attica* (Princeton 1986) 253–346.)

The rural opposition to the war never seems to have been politically organised, but it proved a powerful literary image; the heroes of *Acharnians* and *Peace* (Chremylus in the postwar *Wealth* resembles them) are displaced farmers, whom Aristophanes depicts as honest and pious, uninterested in politics, pursuing a life of simple, elemental pleasures – suppressing the fact that the rural population was, by and large, the

wealthier. (He can even imagine an analogous group of suffering Spartan farmers, *Peace* 625.) Even long after the evacuation it could be invoked when necessary, e.g. by Andocides: 'may we never again see the charcoal burners and their wagons, sheep, cattle and women coming into the city from the mountains, and old men and farmers in armour; and may we never again eat herbs and chervil' (fr. 4); 'you can't eat walls' (*On the peace* 36).

T. adds a note on the story of the συνοικισμός of Attica by Theseus (15n.); here his interest is not antiquarian but anthropological. He discusses: (1) the traditionally rural settlement pattern of Attica – erroneously, since the population seems to have been concentrated in Athens itself after the fall of Mycenaean Greece c. 1200–1150, while the countryside was sparsely populated until c. 850–750 (see Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* 5–10); (2) the topography of the oldest Athenian temples. For a survey of the area in question (with bibliography) see Travlos, *Pictorial dictionary* 100–1, 289–98.

With this whole digression compare the 'archaeology' in 1.2–19, and see F. Solmsen, *Intellectual experiments of the Greek enlightenment* (Princeton 1975) 227. Dated and speculative, but still of interest, is J. E. Harrison, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* (Cambridge 1906).

**14.1** καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν 'and their belongings [5.4n] as well' (on ἄλλην see Sm. 1272).

**14.2** χαλεπῶς ... ἐγίγνετο: virtually passive (Sm. 1754): 'was carried out with difficulty'.

διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθῆναι ... δισιτᾶσθαι 'because of the fact that they had always been accustomed to live ...'

**15.1** The συνοικισμός of the 12 cities of Attica by Theseus was a central Athenian tradition (on the accounts of it in Attidographers see Jacoby's commentary on *FGrHist* 328 (Philochorus) F 94); it was anachronistically modelled on contemporary forms of confederation. For testimonia and bibliography see M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci I: dalle origini al 338* (Pisa 1976) 44–81 and (on the συνοικία) L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 36–9.

ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου: 42.3n.

ἐτέρων μᾶλλον 'especially' (as in 60.7).

κατὰ πόλεις ὠικεῖτο: traditionally there were 12 Attic cities, although accounts of their identities vary.

**ὁπότε μή τι δέλσειαν:** i.e. when they were not forced to band together temporarily against some danger.

**ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα:** the defeat of Eumolpus (king of the Thracians) and the Eleusinians by the king of Athens (who sacrificed his daughter to gain the victory) was the subject of Euripides' *Erechtheus*, see C. Austin, *Nova fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta* (Berlin 1968) frs. 39-65.

**15.2 μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ** 'in addition to his intelligence' (neuter as abstract noun, Introd. 22).

**νεμομένους:** concessive.

**15.3 Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ... πόλις ἦν** 'but before this time what is now the acropolis, and the area more or less [μάλιστα = 'approximately', Introd. 13n. 44] to the south beneath it, was a city [i.e. one among several cities of Attica]'.  
**15.4 τὰ γὰρ ἱερά ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἔξω ... ἱδρύται** 'for the sanctuaries of other gods also [not only Athens] are located on the acropolis itself, and those which are outside of it (τὰ ἔξω) tend to be placed close to that part of the city'. If the text is sound, T.'s argument is condensed, and assumes that normally (1) sacred precincts – like the acropolis – belong to a single divinity, and (2) religious sites are scattered throughout a city. The fact that neither is the case here suggests to him that Athens' area was once very much smaller.

**τὸ ... τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου:** begun by Peisistratus, the temple was still unfinished in T.'s day, and only completed by Hadrian (Travlos 402-11).

**τὸ Πύθειον:** Travlos 100-1 (exact site unknown); another Peisistratid project, which was evidently so unpopular with the Athenians that they went to unusual lengths to stop construction (Hesychius s.v. ἐν Πυθείῳ χέσαι).

**τὸ τῆς Γῆς:** mentioned also by Paus. 1.18.7 and Plut. *Theseus* 27, but as yet unidentified.

**τὸ ἐν λίμναις Διονύσου** is also not certainly identified. The 12th of Anthesterion (the second day (χόες) of the Dionysiac festival called the Anthesteria) was the only day it was open; see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Eng. tr. Peter Bing, Berkeley 1983) 213-26.

**ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες κτλ.:** since they were ancient emigrants from Athens, the Ionian Greeks' observance of the festival

(see M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig 1906) 267–71) is used to prove its antiquity.

**15.5 Ἐννεακρούνῳι:** Travlos 204–9; on their wedding day, all brides had to be washed in water brought from it.

**ἐκεῖνοι:** the earliest inhabitants of Athens.

**ἐγγὺς οὖσι ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου:** both the participle and the prepositional phrase are causal (*variatio*): ‘because it was nearby ... because it was a tradition’.

**τὰ πλείστου ἀξία:** internal accusative (4.6n.), ‘used it for the most important things’.

**16.1 Τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κτλ.:** The text seems corrupt beyond repair, since so many elements are unclear: (1) the structural element intended to follow the first τε; (2) the construction of μετέιχον (a dative object is unexampled); (3) the sense of πανοικεσῖαι γενόμεοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες; (4) the point at which T. shifts from generalising about the past (as he seems to be doing from μετέιχον at least through τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον) to describing the particular evacuation of 430 (as he seems to be doing in οὐ ραιδίως ... ἐποιοῦντο).

Most editors alter μετέιχον (despite its presence in Π<sup>8</sup>), but this solves little; a substantial lacuna seems more likely, perhaps before τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον, which ought not to be governed by οἱ πλείους, the latter being already appositive to οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. (For what it is worth, T. appears here to close his digression by rephrasing the statement (14.2) with which he began it: χαλεπῶς ... ἐγίγνετο ~ οὐ ραιδίως ... ἐποιοῦντο, διὰ τὸ ... εἰσθῆναι ~ διὰ τὸ ἔθος, τοὺς πολλοὺς ~ οἱ πλείους, ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς. For such a ring cf. 61.4n.)

**16.2 δίαιταν ... μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν** ‘faced with the prospect of changing their way of life’.

**οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ... ἀπολείπων:** 49.5n.

**17.1 ὀλίγοις μὲν ... οἰκήσεις καὶ ... καταφυγή:** ‘only a few had houses or [GP 292] refuge with friends or relatives’.

**τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου:** just below the acropolis to the north (Travlos 198–203).

**βεβαίως κληιστόν:** ‘securely locked up’.

**Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον:** the name for the area around the oldest walls of the acropolis (so meant by T. here, Travlos 52–7, Frazer on Pausanias 1.28.3), and also of an area named for the walls’ mythical

builders at the foot of Hymettus (Hdt. 6.137 = *FGrHist* 1 (Hecataeus) F 127).

**ἐπάρατον ... μὴ οἰκεῖν:** 49.6n.

**καί τι καί ... ἀκροτελεύτιον** 'and even some tag-end of a Delphic prophecy ...' (λέγον ὡς redundant after τοιόνδε, cf. τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους in 54.2). On T.'s use of oracles see 54.2-54.5n. On καί τι καί see *GP* 294; Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 274.

**17.2 αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι:** sc. δοκοῦσι.

**ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον ... προήδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῶι ... αὐτὸ κατοικισθησόμενον:** ὃν = πόλεμον (ὀνομάζον is concessive), αὐτὸ = τὸ Πελαργικόν (39.1n., on ὃ μὴ κρυφθέν). For emphatic μὴ in the indirect statement see Sm. 2730.

**17.3 κατεσκευάσαντο:** absolute, 'set themselves up' (lived).

**17.4 ἅμα δὲ καί** 'simultaneously' (referring back to 14.1 when the digression began).

**17.5 ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς** = οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι (Sm. 1325; cf. *Intro.* 22).

### 18-23 Archidamus in Attica

Archidamus' actions in the first invasion of Attica – his constant delays, his diversion of the army to Oenoe, his selective attack on Acharnae – seemed incomprehensible to his troops. But he is engaging in an ingenious counter-strategy to that of Pericles (13.2n.), which is entirely consistent with what he had advised from the start: before the war he had advocated military build-up and delay (1.80-5); in particular he had warned that the land of Attica was *like a hostage* (ἄμφορος 1.82.4; taking a hint from Euripides' *Telephus*, Dicaeopolis turns this image into fact with the charcoal of the Acharnians, *Ach.* 326-7), *which was useful only so long as it was left unharmed*.

Thus when the army is poised to invade at Megara, Archidamus waits and sends a herald (12.1-4); when the Athenians are still not yet ready to submit (οὐ πῶ ἐνδῶσουσιν 12.4) he goes north to Oenoe instead of south to Athens, hoping once again for a conciliatory reaction (18.5-19.1); finally, when he has exhausted every tactic for obtaining concessions without an actual fight, he begins the invasion in earnest (note that the opening formula for the invasion, with the date and leader's name, does not occur until 19.1). But even then he turns

to a back-up plan (foreshadowed in his speech to the troops, 11.6-8) designed to lure Athenians into a foolhardy battle (20), in which he very nearly succeeds (21-22n.).

See J. de Romilly, 'Les intentions d'Archidamus et le livre II de Thucydide', *R.E.A.* 64 (1962) 287-99; Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 29-30.

**18.1 ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον:** this border town (for the site see Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 80 n. 5) was one of several outposts with permanent walls and a small garrison (13.6).

**ἐκαθέζοντο:** 47.2n.

**προσβολὰς ... ποιησόμενοι:** 34.1n.

**18.2 τε οὖν** looks forward to καὶ ἄλλως. (In αἰτίαν τε and ἐπειδὴ τε below, τε virtually = δέ, cf. 8.4n.)

**18.3 οὐκ ἐλαχίστην:** litotes. T. digresses to explain that even though Archidamus' conduct had been faulted twice previously (ἐν τῇ ξυν-αγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου = 'while the war was being planned', a general expression covering especially his defeatist remarks at the first congress in Sparta (1.80-5), and ἐπειδὴ ... ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός = 2.10-12), he had never been as unpopular as at Oenoe.

**διέβαλεν αὐτόν** 'made him unpopular'.

**μάλιστα δέ** 'but especially ...' (marking the end of the digression by repeating οὐκ ἐλαχίστην above, cf. 61.4n.).

**18.4 ἐδόκουν ... ἂν ... καταλαβεῖν** 'it looked as if, without the delay he caused, the Peloponnesians could have attacked quickly and captured everything still outside the walls'.

**18.5 ἐν τῇ καθέδρῃ:** i.e. during the encampment (ἐκαθέζοντο 18.1) at Oenoe.

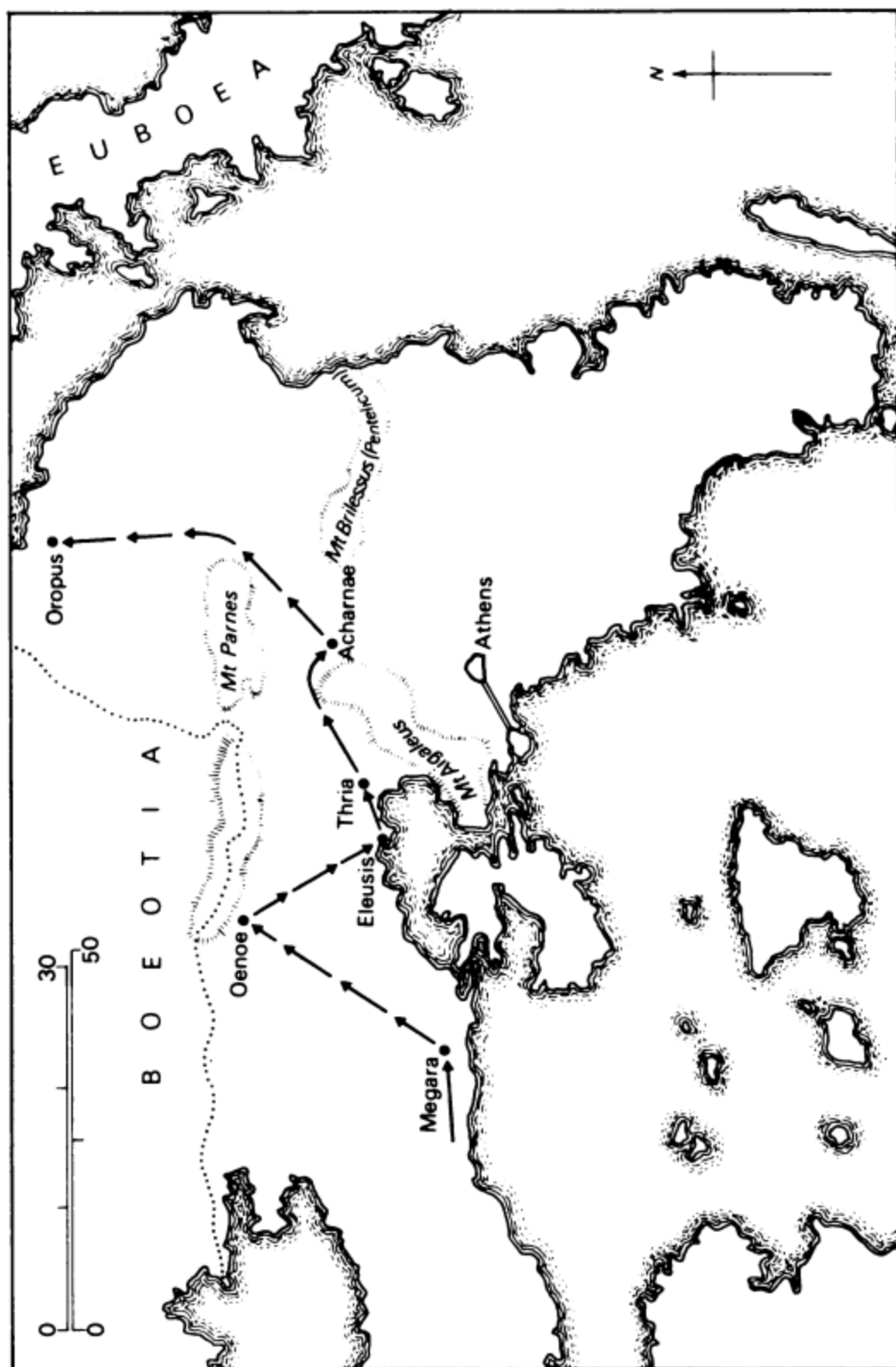
**ὡς λέγεται** 'as is alleged [by defenders of Archidamus' conduct]'. Here (as in 20.1 and 93.4) the phrase with λέγεται seems to denote justifications offered for questionable tactics; for a survey of this and other uses see H. D. Westlake, 'λέγεται in Thucydides', *Mnemosyne* 30 (1977) 345-62 (352 on this passage) and *HCT* v.118.

**ἐνδώσειν τι:** 12.1n.

**19.1 οὕτω δὲ:** 12.4n.

[τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων] has no plausible construction (in this order it cannot be a genitive absolute), and must be assumed to be a gloss on τὰ ἐν Πλαταίαι that has intruded into the text.

**μάλιστα** 'approximately'.



Map 2. Archidamus in Attica, summer 431 B.C. (Thuc. 2.18-23)

**ἤγεῖτο δέ ...**: the formula of invasion (e.g. 47.2, 71.1, 3.1.1) is delayed to show that only now has Archidamus decided to fight; see de Romilly (cited in the n. on 14-17 above) 294-5. For Archidamus' route see Map 2.

**19.2 περὶ τοὺς 'Ρεῖτους καλουμένους**: two small lakes at the western edge of the pass leading into the Attic plain between Aigaleus and Poikilon (G. Mylonas, *Eleusis* (Princeton 1961) 23). The addition of **τινα** to **τροπὴν** suggests that there was no formal battle, and that the pass was scarcely defended.

**ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγάλεων ὄρος**: i.e. declining to enter the Attic plain (see Map 2).

**μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων**: on the order of the genitives see 13.2n. The addition of **καλουμένων** (cf., e.g., 15.5) shows that T. expects at least some readers to be non-Athenians; see Ridley, 'Exegesis and audience', 26-31.

**20 The Acharnians**. T. attributes to Archidamus the brilliant idea of isolating, as virtually the sole victims of the first invasion, the largest and most notoriously aggressive deme in Attica. No matter what happened, the Acharnians would be alienated: either they would be more bellicose than others to save their own property or, after its loss, less interested in pursuing the war at all. In Aristophanes' *Acharnians* they begin with the first attitude, and switch to the second after Dicaeopolis persuades them (496-556). On the deme see Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* Appendix 5, 397-400.

**20.1 γνώμη δὲ τοιαῖδε λέγεται ... μείναι**: on λέγεται see 18.5n.

**ἐκείνηι τῇ ἐσβολῇ**: cf. 13.9n.

**20.2 τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους**: γὰρ in an explanation of τοιαῖδε γνώμη above, *GP* 59; cf. 2.1n.

**20.4 ἐπιτήδειος ... ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι**: 44.1n.

**τρισχίλιοι**: since the whole army only totalled 13,000 hoplites (13.6), and Acharnae was only one deme in one of the ten tribes, this figure must be too large, but no correction has much palaeographic probability. See S. Dow, 'Thucydides and the number of Achaean hoplites', *T.A.P.A.* 92 (1961) 66-80; Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* 397-9.

**ἀδεέστερον ἤδη**: the adverb is inferential with a comparative (cf. on 48.2).



**21.1 Πλειστοάνακτα:** 1.114.2.

δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν 'since he was believed to have been convinced to withdraw [internal accusative, Sm. 1574] with a bribe'. On the whole affair see de Ste Croix, *Origins* 196-200.

**21.2-3** Archidamus' plan begins to work, as emotions reach a flash-point (ἀνηρέθιστο ἢ πόλις 21.3). T. emphasises the build-up of unrest by using the same connective for each new sentence: κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε ... χρησμολόγοι τε ... οἱ τε Ἀχαρνῆς ... παντί τε τρόπῳ ... (on the last see 8.4n.); then the leader takes control (Περικλῆς δέ ...).

οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο 'no longer considered it bearable'.

**21.3** ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὥς ἕκαστος ὥργητο 'which they were eager to hear, each according to his own preference'. ὥς ἕκαστος (which attracts ὥργητο into the singular, Sm. 952) is often added in generalisations in T., to acknowledge that the details differed while avoiding a full description; see Sm. 2997; A. G. Laird, 'ὥς ἕκαστοι in Thucydides', *A.J.P.* 27 (1906) 33-45 (37 on this passage).

ἐκάκιζον: at least two comedies appear to have branded Pericles openly as a coward, and probably belong to this year (in the following year their attitude was quite different, 59.1-2n.). Hermippus' *Μοῖραι* (fr. 47 Kassel-Austin) addressed him thus:

βασιλεῦ Σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις  
δορὺ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν  
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινούς παρέχει  
ψυχὴ δὲ Τέλητος ὑπεστίν;

κάγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόντη σκληρᾶι  
παραθηγομένης βρύχεις κοπίδος  
δηχθεῖς αἰθῶνι Κλέωνι.

'Hey! King of the satyrs! Why in the world  
won't you raise your spear, instead of just  
giving us brave talk about fighting a war  
when in fact you're a coward like Teles?

And when someone takes a kitchen knife  
and sharpens it on a tough whetstone  
you howl as if you'd been transfixed  
by rabid Cleon himself.'

An even more thorough attack seems to have been presented in Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (frs. 39-51 Kassel-Austin), of which a plot summary is preserved on papyrus: Dionysus masquerades as Paris, happily stealing Helen from Sparta, and leaving the Trojans to face the consequences. The summary ends with the comment 'in the play Pericles is implicitly ridiculed quite persuasively, on the grounds that he has forced the war on the Athenians' (κωμωιδεῖται ἐν τῷ δράματι Περικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι' ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγχοῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον).

See J. Schwarze, *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komödie* (Munich 1971) 6-24, 101-9.

ὅτι ... οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι: optative in a causal clause in implied indirect statement (Sm. 2242; cf. 5.1n.).

22.1 πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας: 3.3n.

ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον οὐδένα: as a general Pericles could have blocked special meetings of the assembly (59.3n.) or perhaps even delayed a scheduled one (so J. Christensen and M. H. Hansen, 'What is *syllogos* at Thuc. 2.22.1?', *C.M.* 34 (1983) 20-1), but he certainly did not have the power to forbid all public gatherings of any sort. Yet ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν (often with περί) may emphasise public debate over a specific issue rather than the occurrence of an assembly itself (e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 169 ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύω μὴ ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς Θραιξὶ περί μισθοῦ; cf. *Knights* 746; Thuc. 1.139.3, 4.118.14), and T.'s meaning here must be that Pericles refused to debate περί τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξίεναι either in the assembly or elsewhere (Christensen and Hansen 22-5 think especially of army meetings).

τοῦ μὴ ... ἐξαμαρτεῖν: the genitive articular infinitive = a purpose clause, as in τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ... κακουργεῖν in 22.2 below. Cf. 32.1, 75.1, 93.4; Sm. 2032e.

τι μᾶλλον: 11.3n.

δι' ἡσυχίας ... εἶχεν: 37.2n.

22.2 ἐν Φρυγίοις: a papyrus commentary (Π<sup>8</sup>) tells us that this was a place in the deme Athmonon (north-east of Athens, and south-east of Acharnae).

οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχον: litotes, 'had the better of it'.

22.3 κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικόν: 1.102.4. The dead from this force were buried in the Ceramicus, Paus. 1.29.5.

ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος 'each from [his] party' (on this meaning

see Hans-Joachim Gehrke, *Stasis* (Vestigia 35, Munich 1985) 7 n. 30), evidently because Larisa had a coalition government at the time. In fact that each city-contingent had its own leaders may signal disunity in the Thessalian league, see A. Giovannini, *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in griechenland* (Hypomnemata 33, Göttingen 1971) 65.

**23.1 ἄραντες:** 12.4n.

**Βριλησσοῦ** is better known as Pentelikon (for the route see Map 2).

### 23.2–33 Other events of 431

**23.2–3: The first Athenian naval attacks.** Other such raids by sea are noted in 2.26 and 2.56, but in each case T. passes over them briefly, perhaps because they did not produce results at this stage of the war (as happened later at Pylos), or because he wished to cast the spotlight on the unpopular refusal of Pericles to fight in Attica. None the less the number of ships and men involved was large, reminding us that these raids were an essential part of Pericles' overall strategy (13.2; see Westlake, 'Seaborne raids in Periclean strategy,' *Essays* 84–100; B. X. de Wet, 'The so-called defensive strategy of Pericles' (in G. Wirth, *Pericles und seine Zeit* (Darmstadt 1979) 418–40).

**τάς ἑκατὸν ναῦς:** mentioned 17.4.

**23.3 ἐμμείναντες ... ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια:** i.e. τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσου, 'after staying the length of time for which they had provisions', cf. 1.48.1 τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία.

**Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι:** in the winter of 412/11 the Oropians were captured by the Boeotians (8.60.1); this passage must have been written before then and left unrevised (see Introd. 4 and *HCT* v.405).

**24.1 φυλακὰς ... κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν:** since the land itself was not being defended (13.2n.) this presumably means garrisons on the coast to support naval operations, and observation posts farther inland (Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 81).

**νηίτηι** = ναυτική.

**ἀμύνασθαι:** the aorist = 'repel' rather than 'resist'.

**24.2 κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκαστον:** with τὰς βελτίστας. For suggested criteria for the 'best' 100 ships each year see Morrison and Coates, *Athenian trireme* 154.

**25.1** ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων: both participles are causal, though in different cases (*variatio*, Ros 258, cf. 28.1 below). ἐνεῖναι = 'invest with a garrison', cf. 4.8.4, Bétant, *Lexicon Thucydideum* s.v.

**25.2** Brasidas the Spartan appears here for the first time as the capable commander of a small patrol, who relieves Methone and foils an almost certain Athenian capture, and as a result comes to the notice of the Spartans for the first time (the contrast with Archidamus is especially striking). Later he will be the instrument of T.'s own failure at Amphipolis (4.102–8). See Westlake, *Individuals* 148–65.

Σπαρτιάτης: 12.1n.

φρουράν ἔχων: here not of a garrison, but of a *mobile* force (*HCT* II.83).

διαδραμὼν ... ἐσκεδασμένον ... καὶ ... τετραμμένον 'charging through the army, since it was scattered around the countryside [i.e., spread too thin] and directed only to the city wall [not looking behind it] ...'

**25.3–5 Landing in Elis.** T. distinguishes three stages: (1) the Athenians land in the territory of Pheia (probably on the east side of the Ichthys peninsula) and defeat a small local force; (2) two days later an impending storm forces most of the troops to return to the ships, and sail west around the Ichthys peninsula to occupy an anchorage (called by T. 'the harbour in Pheia'); those left behind actually capture the town of Pheia itself for a time; (3) when the weather clears the ships return, just in time to evacuate the troops left behind, since a large force of Eleans was now in the area. But the geography in detail remains unclear, since T. uses 'Pheia' for both a town and a region, see E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos* II (Gotha 1852) 45.

σχόντες ... ἐς ... 'landing at'.

ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἡλίδος ... ἐκ τῆς περικοίδος 'hollow Elis' (i.e. in the valley) is the original area before its annexation of 'surrounding' Elis, i.e. Pisatis and Triphylia (N. and S. of the river Alpheus respectively; Curtius 96 n. 16). For redundant αὐτόθεν see Classen–Steup on 5.83.1.

**25.4** οἱ δὲ Μεσσηνιοὶ ἐν τούτῳ ... 'meanwhile the Messenians ...' (the refugees who had been resettled as Athenian allies in Naupactus, 9.4n.).

**25.5** αἱ τε νῆες ... ἀναλαμβάνουσιν καὶ ἐξανάγονται ... καὶ ... ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει 'the ships picked them up and

set sail; and [this was necessary because] a large force of Eleans had already come to the rescue'. (ἤδη is moved forward for emphasis.)

**26.2 ἔστιν δ:** 35.2n.

**27 The expulsion of the Aeginetans.** The island of Aegina had possessed considerable mercantile, artistic and military importance until it was forced to join the Athenian empire in 459 (1.108.4); even after this date it remained suspect (Pericles called it 'the infection in the eye of the Piraeus', Arist. *Rhet.* 3.1411a15; Plut. *Pericles* 8). Thus at the war's outbreak its population was finally replaced entirely by Athenian settlers, among them perhaps Aristophanes (*Ach.* 652-4; cf. Aristophanes, Test. 10 Kassel-Austin) and Plato's father (D. L. 3.3). See in general G. Walter, *Aigina* (Berlin 1938) 41-2, 105.

**27.1 οὐχ ἤκιστα τοῦ πολέμου ... αἰτίους:** as with the Megarian decree (59.1-2n.) the autonomy of the Aeginetans had been a major issue in the pre-war negotiations (1.67.2, 139.1, 140.3).

**πέμψαντας:** modal, 'it seemed safer, since it lay close to the Peloponnese, to occupy Aegina by sending settlers of their own'.

**27.2 κατὰ ... τὸ ... διάφορον καὶ ὅτι ...:** *variatio*: 'because of their hostility to Athens and since ...'

**ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμόν:** 1.101.2.

**28** The partial eclipse of the sun occurred on 3 August 431 B.C. Plutarch (*Pericles* 35) and Cicero (*De re publica* 1.16.25) claim that Pericles calmed public fears by explaining it scientifically.

**νουμηνίαι κατὰ σελήνην:** since the Athenian calendar is based on lunar months the specification 'according to the moon' should have been unnecessary, but recent calendar reforms (about which the moon herself is made to complain in Ar. *Clouds* 607-626) could have caused a discrepancy (*HCT* III.714 n.2).

**ὥσπερ καί:** καί is responsive (*GP* 295; cf. 13.1) and not to be translated.

**δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν = δοκεῖ εἶναι δυνατόν γίγνεσθαι,** the most emphatic word being placed last.

**γενόμενος ... καὶ ... ἐκφανέντων:** 25.1n.

**μηνοειδής:** i.e. crescent-shaped.

**29 The Athenians and Thrace, and the story of Tereus.** Eager to make alliances wherever possible (7.1n.) Athens turns to the north,

employing a certain Nymphodorus (cf. Hdt. 7.137) as middleman for negotiations with the Thracian Sitalces, who in turn brings over to their side the Macedonian Perdiccas who had turned against them in 432 (1.56-61, see de Ste Croix, *Origins* 317). On the treaty see H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* II (Munich 1962) no. 165; Hammond, *Macedonia* II.123; Danov, *Altthrakien* 300-3.

The kingdom of the Odrysians had been united by Teres in the first half of the fifth century B.C.; his son Sitalces (reigned c. 440-424) had extended Odrysian influence from the Aegean north to the Danube, and from the Black sea west to the Strymon, and held the line against the more powerful Scythians to the north-east. But the Macedonians were expanding eastward across the Axios at the same period, and Athens had moved into the Chalcidice between them (79.1). Thus arose a three-way struggle, which produced a series of unreliable agreements in the early years of the war, as Athens breaks its promise (101.1) to Sitalces, and Perdiccas breaks his promises to everyone (80.7, 95.2). T. represents Sitalces as the only one who kept his word.

The use of Thracian allies and troops was not popular in Athens (Ar. *Ach.* 141-71), and they were eventually responsible for one of the worst atrocities of the war (7.29). It would have been easy to believe that Sitalces was descended from the savage king whose story had been dramatised in Sophocles' *Tereus* (frs. 581-95 Radt): Pandion king of Athens confirmed an alliance with Tereus of Thrace by giving his daughter Procne in marriage, and she bore him a son, Itys. But Tereus, while escorting his wife's sister Philomela to Thrace for a visit, raped her, cut out her tongue to prevent her from accusing him, and hid her away under guard; he told his wife that her sister had died on route. Yet Philomela wove her story into a tapestry, which she sent to Procne; the sisters joined to take vengeance by killing Itys and serving him to his unsuspecting father. All three survivors were metamorphosed into birds by Zeus (in the Greek version Procne became a nightingale, Philomela a swallow; in Latin the two were reversed).

But T. (who owned property in Thrace and may have had relatives there, see *Intro.* 3) is at pains to show that this unsavoury Tereus has nothing to do with Sitalces' father Teres for many reasons: (1) their names are spelled and accented differently; (2) Teres was the first of his line ever to have been king; (3) Phocis was also called Thrace at

one time, and many poets call the nightingale 'the bird of Daulis' (a Phocian town); (4) it is improbable that an Athenian king like Pandion would find any benefit in an alliance with such a distant land, rather than with nearby Phocis.

For Sitalces and his kingdom see further 95-101nn.

**29.1** δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα 'since he was very influential with him [Sitalces]'.  
 29.1 δυνάμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα 'since he was very influential with him [Sitalces]'.  
 29.2 ἐπὶ πλεόν τῆς ἄλλης Θράικης ἐποίησεν 'extended farther than the rest of Thrace [i.e., the other Thracian kingdoms]'. For the Thracian tribes under Sitalces' control see 96-7nn.

**29.2** ἐπὶ πλεόν τῆς ἄλλης Θράικης ἐποίησεν 'extended farther than the rest of Thrace [i.e., the other Thracian kingdoms]'. For the Thracian tribes under Sitalces' control see 96-7nn.

**29.3** ἐν ἀηδόνος μνήμηι: temporal, 'when they mention the nightingale'. For a list of such passages see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A glossary of Greek birds* (2nd ed. Oxford 1936) 20.

τὸ κῆδος ... τῆς θυγατρὸς ... ἐπ' ὠφελίαι τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους 'a marriage alliance for mutual benefit involving his daughter', object of ξυνάψασθαι.

διὰ τοσοῦτου ... μάλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ... ὁδοῦ 'extending over such a distance [as that from Athens to Phocis] rather than over a journey of many days to the Odrysians'. For διὰ + genitive of distance cf. 83.5, 97.2. For the word order διὰ ... ὁδοῦ see 13.2n. Note the effect of 'interlacing' (Intro. 28) produced by the *hyperbaton*.

οὔτε ... ἔχων ... βασιλεύς τε ... ἐγένετο: the clauses in οὔτε ... τε are logically parallel but grammatically inconsistent (anacoluthon), just as 5.5 and 47.3 (where see nn.).

**29.4** οὐ δὴ: δὴ with the relative 'stresses the importance of the antecedent' (GP 218), here the *Thracian* Teres.

**29.5** Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον: sc. ἐποίησε. For Sadocus' affection for Athens see 67.2; Ar. *Ach.* 145-7. He did not succeed to the throne (97.3n.).

πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν: continuing ὑπεδέχετο. We would have expected πέμπειν (the reading of C), but the future is possible, see Guy L. Cooper III, *Zur syntaktischen Theorie* (cited 3.2n.) 117.

**29.6** ἐπεισεν: sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. For Therme see 1.61.2.

**30.1 Athenians in Acarnania.** T. continues the story of the 100 ships which was broken off in 25.5; they proceed north (for a map and discussion see Kagan, *Archidamian war* 59-62), to an area which was to become an even greater scene of fighting the following year (2.80-92nn.).

παραδιδόασιν ... νέμεσθαι: 4.7n.

Εὐαρχος: known only here and 33.1.

κατὰ κράτος 'in an all-out fight' (87.3n.).

προσεποιήσαντο: 2.2n.

**31 Athenian invasion of the Megarid.** We later learn (4.66.1) that these invasions took place twice yearly (cf. Plut. *Pericles* 29–32), so that it was easy for Pericles' opponents to take them as a sign of Pericles' irrational hostility to the city (59.1–2n.). For an exhaustive discussion of Pericles' attitude to Megara (arguing that T. has omitted important information) see de Ste Croix, *Origins* 225–89.

**31.2** χωρὶς δέ: 13.4n.

οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίαι: 58.2n.

ψιλῶν: i.e. light-armed troops.

**31.3** Νίσαια ἐάλω: in 424 (4.66–9).

**32.1** τοῦ μὴ ληιστάς ... κακουργεῖν: 22.1n.

**33.2** ἔστιν ἄ: 35.2n.

**33.3** σχόντες ... ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν: 25.3n.

βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι 'after setting sail with considerable fighting'.

### 34–47.2 The Funeral Oration

In fifth-century Athens the bodies of those who died in wars abroad were burnt, and the remains (called ὀστᾶ here) were gathered and sent home; there they were interred together in the same way as other dead, following a laying out (πρόθεσις) and funeral procession (ἐκφορά). The ceremony was held at public expense, and culminated in a funeral oration delivered by a leading citizen. This practice is first alluded to by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 429–48; cf. *Ar. Birds* 393–9), and there survive λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι (or fragments of them) ascribed to Gorgias, Lysias, Plato (in the dialogue *Menexenus*), Demosthenes and Hyperides (cf. *Eur. Suppl.* 860–917). In the common elements of these we may see the traditional themes of an ἐπιτάφιος: praise of the ancestors, praise of the fallen warriors, exhortation to citizens, and consolation to relatives (see John Ziolkowski, *Thucydides and the tradition of funeral speeches at Athens*, New York 1981 and T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic literature* (*University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* 3 (1902) 150–7).



The present oration acknowledges such a pattern, but departs strikingly from it by subordinating all these themes to the glorification of contemporary Athens itself (τὴν πόλιν ὑμνησα, 42.2). On its function within the work as a whole see Introd. 19; on its authenticity, 16.

Special studies of the Thucydidean speech are offered by J. T. Kakridis, *Der thukydideische Epitaphios* and Hellmut Flashar, *Der Epitaphios des Perikles*; cf. G. P. Landmann, 'Das Lob Athens in der Grabrede des Perikles,' *M.H.* 31 (1974) 65-95; Konrad Gaiser, *Das Staatsmodell des Thukydides* (Heidelberg 1975). A complex but very perceptive study of the ideology implicit in this and other surviving funeral orations is Loraux, *Invention of Athens*.

Two treatises *On epideictic speeches* by imperial rhetoricians suggest rules (often derived from T.) for the composition of *epitaphioi*: Menander Rhetor 2.418.5-422.4 and [Dionysius] 277-83 (see D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981) 170-9, 331-6, 373-6).

### 34 *The πατριος νόμος of public burial*

For studies of the Athenian public burial see Jacoby, 'Patrios nomos' (highly speculative); R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (Münster 1977); Clairmont, *Patrios nomos*; Pritchett, *Greek state at war* IV.106-24.

**34.1 ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο**: the abstract noun ταφή becomes concrete in the plural, 'funerals' (Sm. 1000). ποιεῖσθαι is frequent with nouns of action in periphrases (Sm. 1722), e.g. 42.1 διδασκαλίαν ... ποιούμενος = διδάσκων, 42.4 ἀναβολὴν ... ἐποιήσαντο = ἀνεβάλλοντο, 44.3 τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι = τίκτειν (cf. 2.4, 11.1, 26.2, 53.2).

**34.2 τὰ μὲν ὅσα προτίθενται**: a reference to the πρόθεσις ('laying-out') of the remains, which would be a mixture of bones and ashes.

**πρότεριτα**: adverb, 'on the third day beforehand'. Since days were counted inclusively in antiquity this actually means - like *ante diem tertium* - 'two days before', so that this πρόθεσις may have lasted two days rather than the traditional one (Erwin Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed. Freiburg 1898) 1.223; Margaret Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 207 n. 30; Loraux 19).

**σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες**: a law attributed to Solon prescribed that the πρόθεσις must take place ἐνδον (Dem. 43.62; Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 5).

**ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος**: 'everyone makes offerings to his kin'.

**ἦν τι βούληται**: sc. ἐπιφέρειν.

**34.3** ἐνεστι δὲ τὰ ὅσα ἡς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς: the antecedent φυλῆς is incorporated into the relative clause (Sm. 2536–8, cf. 44.4 ὃν ἡύτυ-  
χεῖτε βίον and 44.2), and the whole expression is condensed: ‘in it are  
the remains of [all the dead from] the tribe of which each was a  
member’.

οἱ ἄν μὴ εὐρεθῶσιν: the relative clause adds a more precise defini-  
tion of ἀφανῶν.

**34.4** ὁ βουλόμενος ‘whoever wishes’ (generic, Sm. 1124).

αἱ προσήκουσαι: women other than relatives were excluded from this  
and other funeral processions, perhaps because the taint of death was  
thought to harm child-bearing (West on Hes. *WD* 735), perhaps also to  
forestall extravagant lamentation (Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 5–6, 14–23).  
In an early fourth-century decree regulating public funerals from  
Thasos (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: supplément* (Paris  
1962) no. 64) mourning of any sort is forbidden.

πάρεσιν ... ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον: the dative would be expected, but the  
accusative is used because πάρεσι, after ξυνεκφέρει, implies motion  
(Sm. 1659b; cf. 95.3 ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παραγενέσθαι): ‘right up to the  
tomb’. The suggestion of Marchant (cf. Loraux 24), that women could  
be present at the tomb but were forbidden from the procession, is  
difficult to imagine in practice and not supported by the text.

**34.5** τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα: the reports of Pausanias (1.29.4–14) and  
the archaeological remains (surveyed in detail by Clairmont, *Patrios  
nomos* 29–45) show that this term designates not a single structure, but  
an entire area (Loraux 350 n. 36); ‘national cemetery’ would be a  
more apt translation than ‘public tomb’. Probably the war dead of  
each year were buried together, with a stele listing their names (see on  
43.3).

ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου: Pausanias 1.29.4 says it was on the  
road leading north-west (c. 15 km long) from the Dipylon gate to the  
Academy.

αἰεὶ ... πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι: T. omits at least one other  
notable instance at Plataea (Hdt. 9.85.2; cf. Jacoby 40–7), but the  
difference may have been that Athens did not lead the army there  
(Loraux 18–19).

ἐκείνων δέ: δέ where γάρ would be expected, *GP* 169.

κρίναντες: causal.

αὐτοῦ ‘on the spot’ (the battlefield itself).

**34.6 μὴ ἀξύνετος:** litotes (Introd. 27), ‘especially wise’.

**ἀξιώσει προήκηι** ‘is pre-eminent in [public] esteem’. ἀξίωσις and ἀξίωμα (on the suffixes -σις and -μα see Introd. 22) both designate the personal popularity of politicians (1.130.1, 1.138.2, 2.37.1, 6.15.3, 8.73.3), in particular that of Pericles (here and 65.8).

**34.7 ὥδε** refers to what *precedes* (Sm. 1247), as do forms of ὅδε at 40.3, 41.2, 60.6, 63.2.

**ὅποτε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς:** sc. θάψαι (evidently some years there were few casualties). The optative is iterative (Sm. 2340).

**34.8 δ’ οὖν** resumes the main topic (*GP* 463–4).

**τοῖσδε:** the current dead, as οἶδε is used throughout the speech (e.g. 36.4, 41.5, 42.2; contrasted with οἱ λειπόμενοι or οἱ λοιποὶ in 41.5, 43.1, 46.1). The stele listing their names was usually headed οἶδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον (e.g. M–L no. 33; Loraux 38 n. 89).

**ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε** ‘when the moment arrived’ (lit. ‘came upon them’, LSJ s.v. λαμβάνω 1.2.a). (Imperfect for aorist under the influence of the following verb ἔλεγε.)

**ὕψηλόν:** predicative with πεποιημένον, on which the purpose clause depends: ‘made high, so that he could be heard ...’

**ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ ὁμίλου:** ὥς intensifies the superlative (Sm. 1663c note): ‘over the greatest possible extent ...’

**ἔλεγε τοιάδε:** on the imperfect with a verb of speaking see on 13.1. The choice of this pronoun to introduce most speeches might stress their less than perfect accuracy; but see Introd. 15 n. 48.

### 35 *Difficulties confronting the speaker*

Pericles begins by describing the magnitude of the task before him: unlike most orators he does not make light of his own abilities, but generalises about the impossibility of pleasing his audience on such an occasion – he is certain to be blamed either for inadequate praise or exaggeration. But he will undertake the speech none the less (in fact he proceeds to speak about Athens, and does not reach the praise of the dead until Chapter 42). The themes raised are traditional ones in encomiastic literature, especially victory poems:

καιρὸν εἰ φθέγξαιο, πολλῶν πείρατα συντανύσαις  
ἐν βραχεῖ μείων ἔπεται μῶμος ἀνθρώ-  
πων· ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύνει

αἰανῆς ταχείας ἐλπίδας  
 ἀστῶν δ' ἄκοᾷ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύ-  
 νει μάλιστ' ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίοις.

'If one can speak in due measure and bring together the strands of many themes in a brief space, less criticism results from men; for irritating excess dulls their eager anticipation, and what citizens hear about other men's virtues galls them to secret anger.' (Pind. *P.* 1.81-5)

οὔτε τὸν αἰνήσω τόσον ἄξιος οὔτε λάθωμαι  
 – δεῖδια γὰρ δήμου γλῶσσαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις –

'I shall neither praise him as much as he deserves, nor be forgetful – for in either case I fear public criticism.' (Call. fr. 384.57-8, from the Σωσιβίου Νίκη)

See Loraux 236-8; Tilman Krischer, 'Die enkomiasische Topik im Epitaphios des Perikles', *Mnemosyne* 30 (1977) 122-34.

**35.1** τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων 'those who have already spoken here [at the σῆμα]'. In fact Pericles was himself one of this group, having delivered the ἐπιτάφιος after the conclusion of the Samian war in 439 (Plut. *Per.* 28 and Arist. *Rhet.* 1407a; L. Weber, 'Perikles' samische Leichenrede', *Hermes* 57 (1922) 375-95).

τὸν προσθέντα κτλ.: neither the originator of the πατριος νόμος nor the man who added the funeral oration to it is named by T.; speculations range from Solon (*FGrHist* 72 (Anaximenes of Lampsacus) F 24, probably since he was known for funeral legislation) and Cleisthenes (because the 10 tribes are a feature of the ceremony, 34.3), to the 460s, either in connection with the military success at Eurymedon (Page, *Further Greek epigrams* 878-81 pp. 271-2; cf. Paus. 1.29.14) or the massacre at Drabeskos (Paus. 1.29.4, where however πρῶτοι probably indicates position along the road, not chronological order (*pace* Pritchett, *Greek state at war* IV.112-13), ἐτάφησαν being preferred over τεθαμμένοι εἰσί) or political manoeuvres of Cimon (Clairmont 13) or Ephialtes (Loraux 56-64).

ὥς καλόν: sc. ὄν, accusative absolute with an impersonal expression (Sm. 2076). ὥς is causal (Sm. 2086d).

ἀγορεύεσθαι: passive (αὐτόν = λόγον).

ἀρκοῦν ... εἶναι = ἀρκεῖν (*MT* 830; W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (Amsterdam 1965) 24).

ἐμοὶ ... ἂν ἐδόκει: ἂν with imperfect for potential of the past (*Sm.* 1784; *K-G* 1.212; cf. 49.5), 'I would have thought it to be sufficient ...' (with infins. δηλοῦσθαι and κινδυνεύεσθαι).

ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων: the phrase ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι is a euphemism in funeral orations and other patriotic contexts for death in battle (e.g. Aeschines *In Ctes.* 154; *Hdt.* 9.75; *Lys.* 12.97); cf. Rusten, 'The soldier's choice', 71-4, and cf. ἀνδραγαθίαν 42.3.

τιμάς, οἷα ... παρασκευασθέντα: the relative follows the logical rather than the grammatical gender of the antecedent (*Sm.* 2502d).

καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ ... ἀρετὰς ... κινδυνεύεσθαι ... πιστευθῆναι: 'that the virtues of many not be endangered by one man, as to being believed'. πιστευθῆναι would be less awkward taken as the subject (as if we had τὸ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς πιστευθῆναι κινδυνεύεσθαι), but for the mixed exepexegetical construction cf. *Eur. Alc.* 278 ἐν σοὶ δ' ἐσμέν καὶ ζῆν καὶ μὴ (cf. *IT* 1057); *Hdt.* 7.52 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιεῖσθαι (cf. *Plato, Prot.* 313A). The normally intransitive κινδυνεύεσθαι is used personally in the passive (*Sm.* 1749; *K-G* 1.126; cf. 43.5); ἐν + dative with a passive verb may be the virtual equivalent of an agent construction, cf. 64.2, 65.12, 7.8.2; *Hdt.* 8.100.4; *K-G* 1.465.

εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι 'who speaks well or poorly'. For τε ... καὶ here of alternatives = 'either/or' see *Sm.* 2976; *GP* 515. The comparative χεῖρον merely marks a contrast with the preceding positive adverb, cf. 37.1 μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας; 40.1 οὐκ ... αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ ... αἰσχρόν; *K-G* 1.24 n. 2; Otto Schwab, *Historische Syntax der griechischen Comparison* (Vol. 4 of M. Schanz, ed., *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache*, Würzburg 1893) 62-5.

35.2 ἐν ᾧ: temporal, 'when'.

ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας 'the appearance of truth', i.e. plausibility.

ὁ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς ... ὁ τε ἀπειρος: τε ... τε virtually = μέν ... δέ (cf. 7.1); see on 39.1.

τάχ' ἂν: with or without optative = 'perhaps'.

ἐνδεεστέρως πρὸς ᾧ ... 'too sparingly, compared with what he wishes [to hear] and knows [to be true]'.

ἔστιν ᾧ: lit. 'there are things which' = ἐνίᾳ (*Sm.* 2513-15; cf. 26.2, 39.1, 49.8), 'some things' (accusative subject of πλεονάζεσθαι).

**πλεονάζεσθαι**: sc. **ἂν νομίσειε**. Personal passive of a normally intransitive verb (as **κινδυνεύεσθαι** above).

**διὰ φθόνον**: the possibility of producing envy is a conventional concern of those intending to praise others (cf. also Gorgias' *epitaphios*, *VS* 82 B 6 p. 285 line 13). The statement here is contradicted by Pericles' later (equally conventional) assertion that there is no **φθόνος** towards the dead (45.1).

**ὑπὲρ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν** 'exceeding his own natural limitations'.

**μέχρι ... τοῦδε ... ἐς ὅσον ἂν**: correlative: 'are only endurable ... as long as ...'

**αὐτός** 'without help' (Sm. 1209a), with **δρᾶσαι**.

**τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν** 'the excess in them [the speeches of praise]' is object of **φθονοῦντες**. The neuter participle is used as a substantive with partitive genitive **αὐτῶν** (= **τῶν ἐπαίνων**), cf. 59.3 **τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης** (Introd. 22). The whole phrase = **αὐτοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι**: 'but because they are jealous of them [praises] when they are excessive ...'

**ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν**: the verb is absolute; **ἤδη** is inferential (see on 48.2), **καί** is emphatic (*GP* 321): 'as a result they actually become incredulous'.

**35.3 τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἐδοκιμάσθη ...** 'since it was so approved by those of long ago, that this [a funeral oration] is good'. The accusative + infinitive expands **οὕτως**; for the dative see on 41.4.

**ὑμῶν τῆς ἐκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν** 'to attain what each of you wishes [to hear] and thinks [to be true]'. The two nouns correspond to **βούλεται** and **ἐπίσταται**, 35.2 above.

**ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον** 'as far as possible' (see on 34.8).

### 36 Athens' glorious past

Pericles divides Athenian history into 3 parts: (1) the ancestors (**πρόγονοι**, mostly mythical) who lived before the Persian war (although the phrase **μέχρι τοῦδε** suggests that their influence is still felt); (2) the preceding generation (**πατέρες**) who won the Persian war and established the empire; (3) the present generation (**αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς** etc.), who strengthened the empire and made the city self-sufficient. Most *epitaphioi* speak at length of the glories of the mythical past and the defeat of the Persians (Loraux 133-71, cf. K. Jost, *Das Beispiel und Vorbild der*

*Vorfahren bei den attischen Rednern bis Demosthenes*, Rhetorische Studien 19, Paderborn 1934), but Pericles brushes all this aside to move quickly to the present.

The final sentence gives his programme for the speech: he will ignore military exploits and sketch instead the greatness of Athenian life, government and character (37–41); then (42–6) he will speak of the achievement of the dead, and its meaning for the living.

**36.1** καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ‘and also fitting.’ καὶ ... δέ is a single connective (*GP* 201); on καὶ ... ἅμα see on 42.1.

ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε: temporal, ‘on such an occasion as this’.

δίδοσθαι: passive.

οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες ‘because the same people [i.e. Athenians, not foreigners] have always inhabited it’, as in 1.2.5. A commonplace of patriotic orations (Lysias 2.17; Plato, *Menex.* 237B; Dem. 60.4; cf. Eur. *Erech.* fr. 360.5–13; Isocr. *Paneg.* 24–5; Hyperid. 6.7). This claim of ‘autochthony’ – unbroken rule over the same country since the beginning of history – was the centrepiece of Athens’ propaganda, justifying the severe limitations placed on its citizenship in 450–1 to maintain the aristocratic ‘purity’ of the citizen body (see Loraux 149–50, and also her study *Les Enfants d’Athènes* (Paris 1981) 35–73).

διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων: evidently ‘through the succession [to rule] of following generations’ (pleonasm, unless the expression merely = τοῖς διαδεχομένοις καὶ ἐπιγιγνομένοις, indirect obj. with παρέδοσαν).

**36.2** ἐκεῖνοί τε ... καὶ ... οἱ πατέρες ‘not only ... but also ...’ (*GP* 515).

πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο: the antecedent of the relative is omitted, with attraction into its case (= πρὸς τούτοις ᾧ, Sm. 2529–32).

οὐκ ἀπόνως: litotes: ‘with great effort’.

**36.3** τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς ... ἐπηυξήσαμεν ‘most parts of it [the empire] we have augmented’.

αὐτοὶ ... ἡλικίαι: the extreme precision indicates that this generation is his primary concern: ‘we ourselves here, those who are still alive today, more or less in the established time of life’. ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία is the age between 40 and 60 (see *HCT* II.105).

μάλιστα ‘approximately’ (LSJ s.v. μάλα III.5).

τοῖς πᾶσι ‘in all respects’ (cf. 11.6 and 64.3).

**36.4** ὧν ... ἔργα: the relative is masculine (referring to all three groups enumerated in 36.1), and acts as a sentence connective (Sm.

2490; cf. 43.4): 'but their achievements in war ...' τὰ μὲν ἔργα contrasts with ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας ... ἐπιτηδεύσεως below.

**οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτῆθη**: dative of instrument, 'through which individual gains were made'. This relative clause and the conditional one (εἰ ... ἡμυνάμεθα) are logically (though not grammatically) parallel, of offensive and defensive military success.

**ἔάσω** 'I shall omit.'

**ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ... καὶ μεθ' οἷας ... καί ... ἐξ οἷων**: *variatio* (deliberate avoidance of parallelism, Introd. 26) in the choice of prepositions, all of which are causal (these three indirect questions are taken up again in ταῦτα below).

**ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά**: T. occasionally uses the neuter plural αὐτά to refer with a single substantive to groups of ideas just described (here the power whose growth is sketched in 36.2-3 κτησάμενοι γὰρ ... αὐταρκεστάτην); cf. 42.4 (ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν), 43.1 (αὐτὰ ἐκτίσαντο), 60.7 (μοι ... παρεῖναι αὐτά), 6.10.2.

**πρῶτον**: with δηλώσας.

**τῶνδε**: see on 34.8 (τοῖσδε).

**οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι αὐτά**: the adjective (in litotes) is predicative where English would use an adverb or prepositional phrase: 'that they would be said *very suitably*' (cf. 47.4 τελευτῶντες ('in the end'), 43.2 αἰμνηστος ('eternally'), 2.3, 4.4, 5.2, 5.5, 41.3, 46.1, 63.2, Sm. 1042-3).

**ξύμφορον εἶναι**: impersonal, with accus. and infin. (ὁμιλον ... ἐπακοῦσαι).

### 37-41.5 *Athens today*

Pericles praises first the city's public institutions (37-8), then its military readiness (39), and finally the character of its individual citizens (40)

#### 37.1 *Athenian democracy*

Athens' government is presented as combining the best features of democracy (equality for all) and aristocracy (preference for merit) in a complex structure of antitheses. The patriotic speech of Theseus in Eur. *Supp.* 404-8 (de Romilly, *TAI* 134) parallels some of these claims, but with none of the balance and complexity of the Thucydidean description, which is recalled in the *Menexenus* (238c7-D2) and Isoc. *Panath.* 153.



For its critics, such a democracy was not a judicious mixture, but a motley aggregate of different systems, a 'supermarket of constitutions' (παντοπώλιον ... πολιτειῶν, Plato, *Rep.* 557D6). The pamphlet *On the Constitution of the Athenians* ascribed (falsely) to Xenophon gives a negative and sometimes ironic description of many of the themes of this and other *epitaphioi*, which are surveyed and compared by Loraux 202–20.

On the problems of 37.1 see H. Vretska, 'Perikles und die Herrschaft des Würdigsten', *Rh.M.* 109 (1966) 108–20; J. H. Oliver, 'Praise of Athenian democracy as a mixed constitution', *Rh.M.* 98 (1955) 37–40; and G. Vlastos, 'ΙΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ', in *Isonomia: Studien zur Gleichheitsvorstellung im griechischen Denken*, ed. J. Mau and E. G. Schmidt (Berlin 1964) 27–9 = *Platonic Studies* (Princeton 1973) 196–8.

**37.1 οὐ ζηλούσῃ ... παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες ... ἢ μιμούμενοι:** two characteristically Thucydidean techniques of antithesis are here combined: (1) negative–positive contrast ('not  $\gamma$ , but (δέ or ἄλλὰ)  $\chi$ ') and (2) ' $\chi$  rather than  $\gamma$ ' (Intro. 24). Here the first is followed by the second, to return to the original idea ('not  $\gamma$  but  $\chi$ , rather than  $\gamma$ '). T. avoids parallelism by using the contrasting participles in different cases (αὐτοὶ emphasizes the shift in emphasis to the nominative, see on 40.2 below).

**παράδειγμα ... ὄντες τινί:** τισὶν (adopted by Stuart Jones and de Romilly) would match the plural ἑτέρους, but the variation is entirely Thucydidean (Ros 235 n. 12).

**καὶ ὄνομα μὲν ... ἀφανεῖται κεκώλυται** forms an extremely complex sentence (see the *notes complémentaires* in the edition of de Romilly, and Vlastos, 'ΙΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ' 28 (= 197) n. 124), composed of three antitheses: one major one in ὄνομα μὲν – μέτεστι δέ ('it is called democracy, but merit is in fact distinguished'), in the second element of which is the further antithesis κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους ... κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν ('there is legal equality, but greater distinction for merit'); this in turn contains in its second part a final contrast ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ ... οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πένιαν ('according to recognised ability, and not wealth'). As Denniston notes (*Greek prose style* 21–2), each contrast opens out from the one preceding it, like a telescope:

ὄνομα μὲν –  
μέτεστι δὲ  
{κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους

κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν  
{οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν

There are further, less emphatic contrasts within the first ('not for the few, but the many') and third antitheses ('government not by yearly rotation of officers, but according to excellence').

'In name (μέν) it is called a democracy, because we govern not for the few but the many; but (δέ), whereas (μέν) before the law there is equality for all in private disputes, nevertheless (δέ) regarding popular esteem the individual receives public preference according to his recognised achievement in some field – not by rotation rather than by excellence – and furthermore (αὖ), should he be poor but able to perform some service for the city, he is not prevented by insufficient public recognition.'

**ὄνομα μὲν**: accusative of respect.

**κέκληται**: perfect with present meaning in generalisations, of an enduring result (Sm. 1946, cf. *κεκώλυται* below, 40.4 *ἐνηντιώμεθα*, 45.1 *τετίμηται*) 'has the name of ...'

**διὰ τὸ ... οἰκεῖν**: articular infinitive: 'because of the fact that we ...' *οἰκεῖν* here virtually = 'govern', as in 1.17.1, 3.37.3 and 8.67.1.

**μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας** 'not for the few, but for the many'. On the comparative *πλείονας* following the positive *ὀλίγους*, see on 35.1. Note that this is not 'majority rule', but 'rule in the interests of the majority' – T. will imply below that only the best are actually in control.

**μέτεστι δέ ... πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον**: *μέτεστι* is usually impersonal (+ dat. of person and gen. of thing), but here τὸ ἴσον is subject: 'equality is shared by all'. The real point of the contrast with μέν (that there are distinctions according to merit) is not given here, but in *προτιμᾶται* below.

**κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους ... κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν**: note the many additional contrasts in these two clauses: *πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα* / *ἐς τὰ κοινά*, *πᾶσι* / *ἕκαστος*, *μέτεστι* ... *τὸ ἴσον* / *προτιμᾶται* (for a similar concentration of contrasts see on 62.5).

**ὥς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ**: with *προτιμᾶται*.

**οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεον ... ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς**: ἀπὸ μέρους means 'according to turn' (or 'rotation', LSJ s.v. μέρος II.2; Flashar 18), and refers (*pace* Vlastos, 'ΙΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ' 28 (= 197) n. 124) to the Athenian

practice of choosing most magistrates in a yearly lottery, which was often considered a major defect of Athenian democracy (W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Sophists* (Cambridge 1971) 319 n. 3); the real power, as noted by Pericles here (and Ps.-Xen. 3), was wielded by men of distinction, notably the στρατηγοί. The whole phrase οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους κτλ. is an expansion of ὡς ... εὐδοκιμεῖ.

**ἐς τὰ κοινά**: with προτιμᾶται: 'receives preference for public office'.

**ἀξιώματος ἀφανείαι**: causal dative with κεκώλυται. 'Obscurity of prestige' = 'humble status'.

**κεκώλυται**: see on κέκληται above.

### 37.2-3 *Tolerance for divergent lifestyles; rigorous public standards*

Pericles boasts that Athenian democracy offers unparalleled freedom for the individual (ἐλευθερία), and Nicias, in a speech to the Athenian army at Syracuse, appeals once again to this toleration (7.69.2). Even Plato, who was no friend to democracy, nevertheless allowed that because of its tolerance it 'might well be the most attractive system; just like a multicoloured cloak embroidered with every hue, a democracy, adorned with every lifestyle, might appear the fairest' (*Rep.* 557c2). Pseudo-Xenophon 1.10 complains that this tolerance extends even to metics and slaves.

But liberty can easily degenerate into licence (cf. the saying ἐν Ἀθήναις πάντα καλὰ (i.e. 'anything goes'), Plut. *Lac. Apophth.* 236bc), so Pericles stresses that the populace is also especially obedient, not only to local magistrates and laws, but to the 'unwritten laws' which governed all human behaviour – on the development of this concept see R. Hirzel, *Ἄγραφος νόμος* (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ph.-hist. Klasse*, 1903, Nr. 1); Guthrie, *The Sophists* 117-31; V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* (Oxford 1954) 37-44.

That these two attitudes cannot be so easily reconciled is suggested by Pericles' later, less balanced arguments on the subordination of the individual to the state (60.2-4).

**37.2 ἐλευθέρως**: emphatic: 'it is with tolerance that we behave ...' Plato notes as the chief characteristics of democracy individual ἐλευθερία, παρρησία and ἐξουσία ... ποιεῖν ὃ τί τις βούλεται (*Rep.* 557b3); Arist. *Pol.* 1310a29 (cf. 1317a40) makes majority rule and τὸ ἐλεύθερον (consisting in 'doing what one pleases') the essentials of the system. (Cf. on 65.8.)

**τά τε πρὸς ... καὶ ἐς:** the article (accus. of respect) goes with both prepositional phrases; τε is placed early so as not to separate preposition and object (*GP* 518): 'both in public affairs and in our suspicion about each other's daily activities'. The following statement about tolerance makes sense only in the context of the second prepositional phrase, the first being used (*pace HCT* II.114-15) primarily because T.'s thought often must advance through contrasts: from public (πρὸς τὸ κοινόν) to private (ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ... ὑποψίαν), and back again from private (τὰ ἴδια) to public (τὰ δημόσια).

**τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν:** on the concentration of attributes see *Introd.* 23. The natural tendency of fellow-citizens to mistrust, envy and secret hostility is remarked by Xerxes in Herodotus 7.237.

**δι' ὀργῆς ... ἔχοντες:** T. often uses ἔχειν with prepositions in periphrases: ἔχειν ἐν αἰτίαι (59.2), δι' αἰτίας (60.4) = 'blame', ἔχειν ἐν ὀργῇ (18.5, 21.3, 65.3), δι' ὀργῆς (here and 64.1) = 'be angry at'; ἔχειν δι' ἡσυχίας (22.1) = 'stay quiet'; ἔχειν ἐν ὀρωδίαι (89.1) = 'fear'; ἔχειν διὰ φυλακῆς (81.4) = 'keep guard'.

**εἰ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ** 'if he does something as he pleases' (rather than as others do it), cf. 53.1. Divergent lifestyles (παντοδαποὶ ἄνθρωποι, Plato, *Rep.* 557C1) are tolerated in a democracy.

**τῇ ὄψει ... προστιθέμενοι** 'putting upon our faces' (cf. Solon fr. 34.5 West; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.27).

**ἀζημίους μὲν, λυπηρὰς δέ ... ἀχθηδόνας** 'attitudes of disappointment, which inflict no punishment but are nonetheless irritating'.

**37.3 ἀνεπαχθῶς** 'without being offended' (from ἐπαχθής).

**τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες:** concessive participle with accusative of respect: 'although in private matters we associate ...'

**τὰ δημόσια:** accusative of respect again, with παρανομοῦμεν.

**μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν** 'we are the most law-abiding' (*litotes*).

**τῶν ... αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων** 'whoever is in power'. In attributive position with an adjective or participle, αἰεὶ generalises, a use common in inscriptions (cf. 43.2).

**ἀκροάσει:** causal dative, explaining διὰ δέος: 'because of our obedience to ...' δέος is here a positive concept of restraint; cf. Soph. *Ajax* 1079, and see de Romilly, 'La crainte dans l'œuvre de Thucydide', *C.M.* 17 (1956) 119-27; Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 218 and 11.4-5n.

ἐπ' ὠφελίαι: of purpose (cf. 13.1, 29.3, 64.5).

ἀδικουμένων: masculine, passive.

ἀγραφοὶ ὄντες: concessive.

ὁμολογουμένην: passive, 'acknowledged', i.e. 'undisputed'.

*38 Recreation: festivals, private furnishings, imported goods*

Attica surpassed every other region in the frequency of its festivals (e.g. Soph. *OC* 1006; Ps.-Xen. 2.9, 3.2, 3.8; Dover on Ar. *Clouds* 310). Nearly every day of the year was the occasion of some festival or sacrifice; see J. D. Mikalson, *The sacred and civil calendar of the Athenian year* (Princeton 1975). Pericles (like Plato, *Laws* 653D, who recalls this passage) emphasises the social rather than religious value of these celebrations (cf. Plut. *Per.* 11).

For the propriety of spending wealth on homes and furnishings (such as Philocleon is taught to praise at a dinner party, Ar. *Wasps* 1214–15) see Arist. *EN* 1123a6. On the variety of consumer goods available in Athens and their sources see Ps.-Xen. 2.7; the hexameter catalogue from Hermippus' comedy *Φορμοφόροι* (fr. 63 Kassel–Austin); Victor Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes* 138.

**38.1** καὶ μὴν καὶ 'furthermore' (*GP* 352).

τῇ γνώμῃ: denotes the non-physical aspects of man (thus sometimes contrasted with ἔργον), including both the faculty of intellect and mental state. According to context it may be translated 'spirit' (as here, cf. 43.3, 51.4, 61.2, 64.6, 65.1), 'attitude' (9.1, 59.1, 59.3), 'intellect' (34.6, 62.4, 65.8, 65.11), or 'plan' (12.2, 20.1, 86.5). See in general Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 7–14; Pierre Huart, *ΓΝΩΜΗ chez Thucydide et ses contemporains* (Paris 1981).

ἀγῶσι μὲν ... ἰδίαις δέ: of public vs. private diversions. Note that the expensive public buildings on the Acropolis for which Athens was notorious (Plut. *Per.* 12–14) are excluded here – they do not serve recreational purposes (Flashar 20 n. 34).

νομίζοντες: modal participle, here = χρώμενοι, and like it governing the dative (Sm. 1509).

ὦν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις 'the daily delight in which ...'

τὸ λυπηρόν 'anxiety', *Introd.* 22.

**38.2** ξυμβαίνει: impersonal, with καρποῦσθαι: 'it is our lot to enjoy...'

μηδὲν οἰκειότεραι τῇ ἀπολαύσει: dative of manner (see on 47.4),

with predicative position of the adjective for emphasis (see on 43.2): 'with an enjoyment by no means more personal than [that with which we use] the products of others' (i.e. other countries' products are as 'native' to us as our own).

**αὐτοῦ**: adverb, with **γινόμενα**: 'produced here'.

**ἦ καί**: καί introducing the second element of a comparison is untranslatable (*GP* 299).

### 39 *Military training*

Spartan secrecy (Thuc. 5.68.2), xenophobia (ξενηλασίαι Thuc. 1.144.2, Ar. *Birds* 1012–13, Xen. *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 14.4) and its harsh educational system (H. I. Marrou, *A history of education in antiquity* (tr. George Lamb, London 1956) 14–25) were notorious; yet the Spartan model had its admirers as well (notably Xenophon and Plato; see E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in classical antiquity* (Göteborg–Uppsala 1965) 155–6, 159–79, 252–60). Athens offered no universal military training at all until the ephebia was instituted in the fourth century, and the softness of Athens' 'new education' in general had its critics (e.g. Ar. *Clouds* 889–1114; on the older system see F.A.G. Beck, *Greek education, 450–350 B.C.* (London 1964) 72–146). Pericles does not attempt a detailed comparison, but boldly argues from the results: despite its rejection of militarism, Athens has not yet been shown inferior. See P. Vidal-Naquet, 'The Athenian hoplite', in *The black hunter* (tr. A. Szegedy-Maszak, Baltimore 1986) 89–90. (When it comes to naval training Pericles' attitude is the opposite: 1.142.5–8.)

**39.1 τοῖσδε**: neuter, 'in the following'.

**τὴν τε ... πόλιν**: contrasted with καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις below, so that τε ... καὶ virtually = μέν ... δέ (*Introd.* 23).

**κοινήν** 'open', i.e. not purged by occasional expulsions of non-citizens (ξενηλασίαι). Such claims are parodied by Ar. *Birds* 38: (πόλιν) πᾶσι κοινήν ἐναποτεῖσαι χρήματα, 'open to all – to pay their fines here'.

**ἔστιν ὅτε** 'sometimes', see on 35.2.

**οὐκ ... ἀπείργομέν τινα** 'we do not keep anyone away from ...', with the following genitives.

**ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν ... ὠφελῇ**: the relative pronoun belongs only to the participles (which are conditional), while the main verb is independent of it (*Sm.* 2543, cf. 17.2, 41.4, 48.3, 51.2, 65.11, 6.10.2;

cf. 2.84.2): 'which, if it should not be hidden and some enemy should see it, he would gain an advantage'.

**οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεόν ... ἢ ...**: antithesis by comparison, *Introd.* 24-5.

**ἀπάταις**: for Spartan deceit see *Eur. Andr.* 445 and the commentary of P. T. Stevens (Oxford 1971) *ad loc.*

**τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ** 'our innate physical courage' (on the concentration of attributes see *Introd.* 23).

**παιδείαις**: the plural of abstract nouns may refer to a group of single instances (*Sm.* 1000; cf. 13.1 ἄγῃ, 41.1 χαρίτων, 44.2 εὐτυχίαις, 65.7 φιλοτιμίας).

**εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται**: oxymoron, 'right from their youth ... they train to be men', i.e. they never have a childhood; cf. the description of Hippomedon, *Eur. Supp.* 882-5 παῖς ὢν ... εὐθύς ... ἔχαιρε πρὸς τάνδρεῖον. (εὐθύς + participle as in 47.2, 54.5.)

**ἀνειμένως** 'relaxed' (an adverb derived from ἀνειμένος, the perfect passive participle of ἀνίημι).

**δαιτώμενοι**: concessive.

**ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους** 'equivalent dangers' (to those the Spartans face); for other possible interpretations see *Loraux* 400 n. 86.

**39.2 οὔτε ... καθ' ἑαυτούς, μεθ' ἀπάντων δέ**: negative-positive contrast (*Introd.* 24; δέ = ἀλλά), 'not by themselves, but with all [their allies, cf. *Xen. Mem.* 3.5.4].' οὔτε corresponds to τήν τε τῶν πέλας and ἀθρόαι τε τῇ δυνάμει below; on triple τε as a co-ordinating particle see *Introd.* 23-4.

**αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες ... ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ... μαχόμενοι**: concessive participles, 'even though we attack unaided [αὐτός as in 35.2], fighting in foreign territory'.

**οὐ χαλεπῶς ... τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους ... τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν** 'we usually conquer without difficulty men who are fighting for their own possessions'. On the 'interlacing' word order see *Introd.* 28.

**τὰ πλείω**: adverbial accusative, 'usually'.

**39.3 διὰ τὴν ... ἐπίπεμψιν**: τε and καί join not separate reasons, but two parts of a single policy: 'because of our simultaneous (ἅμα) supervision of the navy and dispatch of our own citizens by land to many places'. On the attributive phrase see *Introd.* 23.

**κρατήσαντες ... νικηθέντες**: conditional participles.

**ἀπεῶσθαι**: perf. mid. infin., ἀπωθέω.

**ἡσσησθαι**: passive, sc. αὐχοῦσιν again, although its meaning is not strictly appropriate (*zeugma*, Sm. 3048; cf. 56.6).

**39.4 καίτοι εἰ** 'and since ...' (Sm. 2246). καίτοι here is not adversative, but 'marks the transition from premise of premise' (GP 561).

**ῥαιθυμίας ... πόνων μελέτη**: datives of manner (see on 47.4), corresponding in sense to ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι and ἐπίπνοος ἀσκήσις in 39.1.

**μη μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας**: the preposition perhaps governs ἀνδρείας (for the word order see Introd. 28), on which the earlier genitives (of cause, Sm. 1298) depend: 'not with courage from rules (which the Spartans have) rather than from character'. Cf. however μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων 5.69.2 (of Spartans encouraging each other before battle – not of music, see HCT IV.118) and μη μετὰ νόμων 3.62.4; for the enforcement of bravery by law at Sparta cf. 87.9, and Plato, *Laws* 625D. On μάλλον ἢ and μή ... τὸ πλέον ἢ see Introd. 25.

**περιγίγνεται**: impersonal + dat. and infin.: 'it results for us that ...'

**τοῖς ... μέλλουσιν ἀλγεῖνοῖς**: neuter, causal dative: 'because of troubles that we anticipate'.

**ἐλθοῦσι**: masculine (with ἡμῖν), temporal: 'when we enter into them' (τὰ ἀλγεῖνά).

**ἀτολμοτέρους**: the dative and infinitive (περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν) is extended with accusative and infinitive (Sm. 1978; cf. 7.2, 11.7, 61.2).

**ἀξίαν εἶναι**: although this is logically a new idea (forming a transition to the next section) it remains grammatically dependent on περιγίγνεται.

#### 40 *The Athenian character*

In his programme for the speech (36.4) Pericles announced he would consider the ἐπιτήδευσις, πολιτεία and τρόποι of his people; he now turns to the last of these, and discusses the qualities of Athenians as individuals, as his later summary makes clear (41.1 *ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ...*).

'National character' was a frequent topos in ethnographic literature: see M. Göbel, *Ethnica: de Graecarum civitatum proprietatibus proverbio notatis* (diss. Breslau 1915) and F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des*



*Herakleides* (*Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ph.-hist. Kl.*, Vienna 1951, Vol. 227.2) 67-70, 179-82.

40.1-2 *The harmony of Athenian life*

First he surveys the excellence of the Athenians in a wide range of activities, in what is perhaps the most famous passage in Greek prose, yet one whose structure has been widely misunderstood. Pythagoras is said (*Cic. Tusc. Disp.* 5.8) to have compared life and human occupations to the Olympic games, where some men come to compete and win glory, others to buy and sell, still others – the most noble – to observe and study. This threefold division of human life is found in Plato (*Rep.* 9.580D), Aristotle (*EN* 1.5. 1095b14) and elsewhere, and Pericles adopts it here as well, in a lengthy sentence which is divided into three major sections by τε (see on 39.2): (1) φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γάρ ... (καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ...); (2) πλούτῳ τε ... χρώμεθα (καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι); (3) ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια (καὶ ἑτέροις ...).

His occupational categories – lovers of wisdom (intellectuals), of wealth (businessmen) and of public service (politicians) – are meant as *alternatives*; it would be preposterous to ascribe to every single Athenian citizen the simultaneous pursuit of philosophy, wealth and political power, especially since in the case of wealth and politics an explicit reference is added to those *outside* these spheres as well (καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι ... καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις):

‘For in the first place (τε) we seek what is noble with moderation in expense, and seek wisdom without becoming soft; furthermore (τε), wealth is for us an opportunity to act rather than something about which to speak boastfully, and as for poverty, it is not a disgrace for anyone to admit to it, but it is a disgrace not to attempt actively to escape it; finally (τε), those who manage our city do the same for their households as well, and others, even though they pursue their trades, have a thorough knowledge of politics.’

The ‘three lives’ are usually invoked by philosophers wishing to praise one at the expense of the others. Pericles’ purpose is different: none of the three is rejected and each, it is implied, is of value only as far as it harmonises with Athenian society as a whole. (Note in particular that

references to personal wealth – μετ' εὐτελείας, οἰκείων ... ἐπιμέλεια, πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις – occur in the first and third elements as well as the second.) But the life of service to the city (elaborated in 40.2–3) occupies the final and emphatic position. (See further Rusten, *C.Q.* 35 (1985) 14–19.)

Plato has this passage in mind when he ridicules the 'democratic' man as unable to concentrate on a single life (*Rep.* 561D): 'therefore he lives for the day, gratifying whatever desire comes over him ... sometimes doing physical training, sometimes lying idle and caring for nothing, or sometimes pretending to engage in philosophy; often he takes up politics, and jumps up [in the assembly, cf. Cratinus fr. 378 Kassel–Austin] to say or do whatever occurs to him; if he is taken with warriors he is drawn in that direction, or if he likes businessmen, to this activity. His life possesses no order or direction whatsoever – and yet he continues to practise it, calling this life pleasant, free and blessed.'

**40.1 Φιλοκαλοῦμεν:** not 'we love beauty' (referring to the art of the Acropolis, which was anything but εὐτελής 'inexpensive'), but 'we love what is noble' (cf. ἑρᾶν τῶν καλῶν Pind. *P.* 11.50; Theognis 696), a virtual synonym of φιλοσοφοῦμεν (W. Burkert, 'Platon oder Pythagoras? Zum Ursprung des Wortes "Philosophie"', *Hermes* 88 (1960) 174).

**φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας:** for the tendency of the philosophic temperament to become μαλακώτερον τοῦ δέοντος see Plato, *Rep.* 3.410E.

**ἔργου ... καιρῶι ... λόγου κόμπωι:** predicative (Sm. 1509) with χρώμεθα. The contrast between λόγος and ἔργον is inescapable in T., sometimes neutrally (8.4), sometimes to the advantage of the latter ('claim' vs. 'reality' as here, 41.2, 42.2, 65.9), sometimes of the former ('intellect' vs. 'action' 40.2, 43.3). Cf. also ἔπη vs. ἔργα 41.4 and γνώμη vs. ἔργον 11.5, 43.3. See in general Parry, *Logos and ergon in Thucydides* (159–71 on the *epitaphios* in particular).

**τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχροῖν:** = οὐκ αἰσχρόν τινι ὁμολογεῖν τὸ πένεσθαι. τὸ πένεσθαι is equivalent to a simple infinitive (cf. 53.3, 6.14, 17.8), in indirect statement with ὁμολογεῖν (Sm. 2034g). With the emphatic initial placement of 'wealth' and 'poverty' here cf. 42.4 οὔτε πλούτῳ ... οὔτε πενίᾳ.

**μὴ διαφεύγειν:** sc. τὸ πένεσθαι.

**διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ:** contrasted with the second element of ὁμολογεῖν.

**αἴσχιον:** the comparative marks the contrast with οὐχ ... αἰσχρόν (see on 35.1): 'it is not disgraceful to ... , but it is disgraceful not to ...' (On the negative-positive formulation see on 37.1.)

**40.2 ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ... καὶ ἑτέροις:** the second dative has been variously emended, in the mistaken belief that 'τοῖς αὐτοῖς in the first clause means the Athenians generally, and there is no "other class" of Athenians to oppose to them' (*HCT* II.121). But there are in fact two groups.

(1) τοῖς αὐτοῖς designates those whose primary task is to govern the city (without neglecting their own affairs); ὁ αὐτός here 'stresses the combination of two predicates [here the two objective genitives οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν] which as a rule apply only separately' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1000-1, cf. Jebb on *OT* 457), precisely as Latin *idem*. See Rusten, *C.Q.* 35 (1985) 18, and cf. 40.3 and 41.1.

(2) ἑτέροις ('the rest') designates those who work for themselves (while remaining knowledgeable about public affairs). Pericles here answers claims such as the Theban herald's in Eur. *Supp.* 420-3: γαπόνοσ δ' ἀνὴρ πένης, | εἰ καὶ γένοιτο μὴ ἀμαθής, ἔργων ὑπο | οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πρὸς τὰ κοῖν' ἀποβλέπειν.

**οἰκείων ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια** 'the ability to supervise simultaneously both their own and the city's business'.

**πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις:** πρὸς (ἐπὶ, εἰς) ἔργα τρέπεσθαι = 'pursue one's own business' (L. Edmunds, 'Thuc. II.40.2', *C.R.* 22 (1972) 171-2); the participle is concessive.

#### 40.2-3 *Balance of debate and action*

For those who are ignorant of public policy we have nothing but contempt, while we ourselves always participate, either recognising good policies (of others) or actually formulating them. Despite Pericles' claim of Athenian uniqueness (μόνοι), the structure of his analysis is at least as old as Hesiod (*WD* 293-7):

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,  
φρασσάμενος τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω·  
ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ καὶ κείνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται·  
ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων  
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνὴρ.

Pericles gives the three categories a political rather than moral application and reverses the order, but they remain the same: αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει = ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς, εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται = κρίνομεν ὀρθῶς, μήτ' αὐτὸς νοήσει μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται = τὸν μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα. For both Hesiod and T. the last type is ἀχρεῖος (cf. ἀχρηστος in the constitution of Dreros (M-L no. 2, Loraux 408 n. 17); ὁμιλος ἀχρήσιος Hdt. 3.81.1).

Furthermore (40.3), the traditional incompatibility of careful planning and timely action does not apply to the Athenians as to other Greeks. (On this form of the λόγος/ἔργον antithesis see Parry, *Logos and ergon* 165-6 and Hans Dieter Kemper, *Rat und Tat* (diss. Bonn 1960) 50.) The speech of the Corinthians at the first congress of the Peloponnesian League (1.70) had drawn a vivid contrast between the excessive caution of the Spartans and the bold but rash activity of the Athenians; later (1.84) Archidamus had given a more positive view of Sparta's approach, and Pericles here does the same for Athens.

**μηδέν**: on the accusative with μετέχω see Sm. 1344 (not οὐδέν, because generic, Sm. 2734).

**ἀπραγμονα**: usually a complimentary term, 'unpolitical' (see Ehrenberg, *Polypragmosyne: a study of Greek politics*, and HCT II.122; on abstinence from politics as an ideal see W. R. Connor, *The new politicians of fifth-century Athens* (Princeton 1971) 175-94).

**αὐτοί**: the manuscripts C and G add the article, but this is unlike the adverbial use of ὁ αὐτός just above (τοῖς αὐτοῖς) and in 40.3 (οἱ αὐτοί); here there is a *disjunction* of two predicates, and αὐτοί alone marks the shift of emphasis from the accusative (τὸν ... μετέχοντα) to the nominative (κρίνομεν κτλ.) within the same sentence, as in 37.1 (χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτεῖαι οὐ ζηλούσῃ ... παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες) and 11.1 (καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην ... καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι).

**ἦτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα**: γε 'stresses the likelier member of the comparison' (L. Edmunds, art. cit. 40.2n. above, 171; see also Adam on Plato, *Rep.* 344E): 'we at least judge policy correctly even if we do not formulate it'.

**οὐ τοὺς λόγους ... ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδασθῆναι μᾶλλον**: both noun and infinitive are predicates to βλαβὴν ἡγούμενοι (*variatio*, Introd. 26): 'not discussion ... but lack of advance information'. On the negative-positive contrast see Introd. 24.

λόγῳ ... ἔργῳ: see on 40.1 above.

ἐλθεῖν: with πρότερον ἢ *not* with δεῖ.

40.3 διαφερόντως ... ἔχομεν = διαφέρομεν 39.1.

τόδε: accusative of respect, referring to the *preceding* statement (see on 34.7).

ὥστε τολμᾶν τε ... καὶ ... ἐκλογίζεσθαι 'so that the same people are not only especially daring but also [especially] analytical about what we undertake'. (τε ... καὶ as in 36.2.)

ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις: the relative is accus., 'in respect to which' (the choice between action and discussion); here (as in 3.12.1, cf. *HCT* iv.306 and Eur. *Ion* 245-6) it virtually = 'whereas'.

ψυχὴν 'in courage' (cf. τῷ ... εὐψύχῳ, 39.1).

σαφέστατα: adverb.

#### 40.4-5 Friendship

A traditional definition of male ἀρετή consisted in 'outdoing one's friends in kindness and one's enemies in harm' (Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.35; cf. Plato, *Meno* 71E3 and Dover, *Greek popular morality* 180-4, 277), and the commonest model of friendship was one of indebtedness and repayment (Plato, *Rep.* 331E; G. Vlastos, 'Socrates' contribution to the Greek sense of justice', *Archaiognosia* 1.2 (1980) 304-7). Pericles generalises on the best sort of friend (see F. Dirlmeier, *Philos und philia im vorhellenistischen Griechentum* (diss. Munich 1931) 52-3) and claims that Athenians are more vigorous in friendship, even (or rather especially) when no equal return is expected (cf. the praise of Theseus, Eur. *HF* 1403-5; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 45; Pseudo-Dicaearchus 1.4 = Pfister, *Reisebilder des Herakleides* 74, 115; and M. Göbel, *Ethnica* (diss. Breslau 1915) 20).

The Spartans' attempt to apply such a generalisation to treaty negotiations in 4.19 (D. MacDowell, 'ἀρετή and generosity', *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963) 127-34) is patently unrealistic; Pericles the politician is not so naive, and his words here must not be misinterpreted as a claim about the Athenian policy to allies (*pace* J. T. Hooker, 'χάρις and ἀρετή in Thucydides', *Hermes* 102 (1974) 164-9; Loraux 81) - they would be a grotesque distortion of the nature of empire, which he later compares to a tyranny (63.2; see Flashar 24). Like all this section, they are meant to apply to the character of *individual* Athenians (see introductory n. to 40 above).

40.4 τὰ ἐς ἀρετήν: accusative of respect.

ἐννητιώμεθα 'we are opposite to ...', a synonym for διαφέρομεν

and διαφερόντως ἔχομεν above (on the tense see on 37.1 κέκληται).

**δρῶντες:** sc. εὔ. Both participles are modal (Sm. 2063): 'not by receiving favours, but by doing them'.

**βεβαιότερος ... ἀμβλύτερος** 'more reliable [i.e. a firmer friend] ... less enthusiastic' (on the paired comparatives see K-G II.306). This sentence is not an explanation of the Athenian style of friendship (which would be contradicted by οὐ ... λογισμῶι below) but a parenthetical generalisation. The apparent paradox that a benefactor feels more affection than his beneficiary is discussed by Arist. *EN* I 167b17.

**ὁ δράσας:** sc. εὔ (not with τὴν χάριν, as LSJ s.v. χάρις III.a).

**τὴν χάριν ὥστε ... σώζειν:** the emphatic word is placed even before the conjunction (hyperbaton, cf. I.10.4 αὐτερέται δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν, and the edition of Thucydides 6 (Cambridge 1905) by A. W. Spratt, introd. xl). The sentence is a condensed result clause (*pace GP* 527), in which δι' εὐνοίας is emphatic: 'with the result that, through his goodwill [for the one] to whom he has given it [the favour], he keeps it [the gratitude] owed'.

**τὴν χάριν ... ὀφειλομένην ... ᾧ δέδωκε:** χάρις is a reciprocal relationship in Greek, but must be translated differently in English depending on the idiom: χάριν δοῦναι = 'grant a favour'; χάριν ὀφείλειν = 'owe gratitude'.

**ἀποδώσων:** participle in indirect statement with a verb of perception (εἰδώς).

**40.5 μόνοι:** the claim of uniqueness is traditional for *epitaphioi*, cf. 40.2, 41.3; Loraux I n. 3.

**λογισμῶι ... πιστῶι:** the datives are parallel only in form, not in meaning (see in general Ros 86-96), since the first is causal and the second modal: 'not because we calculate the advantage, but with confident independence'. (On the positive-negative formulation see Introd. p. 24.)

**τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶι πιστῶι:** for the neuter adjective with genitive (τὸ πιστόν again in I.68.1, 6.72.4) see on 44.4, for ἐλευθερία see on 37.2.

**ἀδεῶς** 'fearlessly'.

#### 41.1-4 *The greatness of Athens*

In 36.4 Pericles justified his praise of the Athenians as a description of the society and character which were the backbone of her power (ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἷας πολιτείας καὶ

τρόπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐγένετο); to that power he now returns, and offers Athens' military and imperial might as an objective proof of the qualities he has just described.

The contrast between the objective evidence of Athenian domination and the fictions of poets not only returns to a theme of the preface (1.9-11, 21.1), but also recalls the report that Pericles belittled the Trojan war in comparison with his own reduction of Samos (Plut. *Per.* 28.7 = *FGrHist* 392 (Ion of Chios) F 16).

**41.1** *Συνελών τε* 'in summary' (on τε as a summarising sentence connective, *Introd.* 23).

*τὴν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον*: summing up the praise, first of the city's institutions in 37-9 (with *παιδεύσεις* here cf. *παράδειγμα* in 37.1) then of the Athenian character in 40.

*δοκεῖν ἂν μοι ... ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν εἶδη ... μάλιστ' ἂν*: all three instances of ἂν belong to *παρέχεσθαι*, which represents a potential optative in indirect statement (dependent on *δοκεῖν*).

*τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα*: see on 40.2 *τοῖς αὐτοῖς*.

*παρ' ἡμῶν* 'from among us' i.e. if he is an Athenian.

*ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν εἶδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι*: Pericles' attempt to summarise all his claims for the Athenian character in 40 produces an almost Aeschylean concentration of adverbial qualifications, using vocabulary in part ambiguous (on the meanings of *εἶδη*, *χάριτες*, *εὐτραπέλως*, and *σῶμα* see the notes below). The logical word order appears to be *παρέχεσθαι ἂν τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' εἶδη, καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' εὐτραπέλως*. *Variatio*, with a predicate adjective (*αὐταρκες ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' κτλ.*) parallel to an adverb + prepositional phrase (*μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ... εὐτραπέλως*); cf. *Ros* 182-8.

*ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν εἶδη*: with *αὐταρκες*. *εἶδος* here (without a dependent genitive) seems to mean 'kind of conduct' (cf. 6.77.2, 8.56.2; Adam on Plato, *Rep.* 572C21).

Plato must have this passage in mind when he remarks of the 'democratic' man (*Rep.* 561E): 'I think that he is full of variety and of the greatest number of personalities, and that this man is the fair and multicoloured one who corresponds to that city [described in 557C2, quoted in the *introd.* n. to 37.2-3], and many men and women would admire his life, since he exemplifies the widest range of constitutions and temperaments.'



μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' ... εὐτραπέλως: perhaps of Athenian adaptability in general ('with the most versatile grace' – this suits the context), but χάρις (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 95) and εὐτραπελία (e.g. Arist. *EN* 1108a24) generally describe a congenial personality ('with the most charming wit' – cf. Plato, *Rep.* 563a εὐτραπελίας τε καὶ χαριεντισμοῦ; and the aristocratic assessment of Gelon (Hdt. 7.156.3) δῆμον εἶναι συνοίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον). For the plural χαρίτων see on 39.1 παιδείαις.

ἀν ... τὸ σῶμα αὐταρκες παρέχεσθαι 'would provide a self-sufficient individual', with predicative position of the adjective for emphasis (43.2n.). The phrase is striking, and attempts to normalise it by regarding τὸ σῶμα as merely equivalent to ἑαυτὸν are unfounded. In a study of σῶμα used of persons ('Die Person,' *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1914, Abh. 10, 6–28) Rudolf Hirzel cites no such use, noting rather (54, *Nachtrag*) that in this passage it designates the individual as opposed to a larger group, the city (cf. Dem. 18.100; Thuc. 8.91). This suits well the general parallelism (τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν ... καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον), and gives special point to αὐταρκες: just as Pericles has declared his city to be αὐταρκεστάτη (36.3), so also are her citizens the most self-sufficient individuals. The analogy of personal αὐτάρκεια and that of a city or country is found again implicitly in Aristotle (with *Pol.* 1253a cf. *EN* 1177a27), and explicitly in Hdt. 1.32.8–9, to which T. alludes with σῶμα αὐταρκες here: ὥσπερ χώρα οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἑωυτῇ παρέχουσα ... ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστι.

Finally, σῶμα αὐταρκες reappears in a thoroughly different context in 51.3, where the primary meaning is 'no physical type was resistant' to the plague, but the choice of the same phrase – like the placement of the entire plague narrative immediately after the *epitaphios* – seems almost to mock Pericles' initial optimism.

41.2 ὥς: introducing indirect statement, governed by σημαίνει below.

λόγων κόμπος ... ἔργων ... ἀλήθεια: pleonastic, 'verbal boasting ... true facts'. See on 40.1.

τάδε ... τῶνδε: referring to things said previously (see on ὧδε 34.7).

41.3 τῶν νῦν; partitive, with μόνη.

ἀκοῆς κρείσσων ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται: 'proves stronger than reported'.

ἀγανάκτησιν ... κατάμεμψιν: verbal derivatives (Intro. 22) com-



bined with ἔχει as virtual passives (cf. on 61.2): 'is neither resented by the attacking enemy ... nor blamed by the subject'.

ὅφ' οἷων κακοπαθεῖ: dependent exclamatory clause, equivalent to a causal clause explaining ἀγανάκτησιν (Sm. 2687): 'because he is being harmed by such [i.e. such unimpressive] men'.

ὥς ... ἄρχεται: causal, explaining κατὰμμεψιν.

**41.4 μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων ... ξυγκατοικίσαντες**: this sentence contains only one main verb (θαυμασθηςόμεθα), which is expanded (cf. Introd. 26) by four circumstantial participles in the nominative plural, one (παρασχόμενοι) preceding the main verb, the rest combined in a more elaborate structure of negative-positive contrast and antithesis:

1. οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι
  - A. οὔτε Ὀμήρου
  - B. οὔτε δστις
    1. ἔπεισι μὲν ... τέρψει
    2. τῶν δ' ἔργων ... βλάψει
2. ἀλλὰ ...
  - A. (μὲν) καταναγκάσαντες
  - B. (δὲ) ξυγκατοικίσαντες

**μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δὴ τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν παρασχόμενοι**: *variatio*, with a prepositional phrase (expressing means, K-G 1.506-7) parallel to a causal participle (cf. Ros 187, and cf. 53.2 and 89.2): 'through great proofs, and because we furnish power that is well-witnessed ...' (μάρτυρας παρέχεσθαι is a technical term of legal proof, LSJ s.v. παρέχω B.ii). δὴ strengthens the negative (GP 222), and τοι 'brings the point home to the person addressed' (GP 548, cf. 552).

**τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα**: the dative of agent with passives other than the perfect (Sm. 1490) is common in T. (7.2, 35.3, 46.1, 77.2, 101.5).

**οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι** 'having no need in addition [to our power] of ...'

**δστις**: as usual, the antecedent (τοιοῦτον or the like) is omitted. The relative acts as the subject of the first part of the antithesis (through τέρψει), but the second part (βλάψει) is independent of it, cf. on 39.1.

ἔπεσι μὲν ... τῶν δ' ἔργων: ἔργων is placed first to contrast with ἔπεσι (see on 40.1), but is actually dependent on ἀλήθεια (as in 41.2 above). By a praiser 'who will please for the moment with his verses, but whose intended meaning (τὴν ὑπόνοιαν) the truth of what happened will work against' Pericles means someone like Choerilus of Samos, who wrote an account of the Persian war, and of the deeds of Lysander (H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin 1983) frs. 314-32).

μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν 'memorials of our vengeance [cf. κακοπαθεῖ above] or aid'. The reading καλῶν (defended by F. Müller, *H.S.C.P.* 53 (1958) 171) would ignore the fact that before Socrates, the Greeks considered harming enemies as important a duty as helping friends (7.68.1; Dover, *Greek popular morality* 180-4; Adam on Plato, *Rep.* 331E; Page on Eur. *Med.* 809-10). μνημεῖα ... συγκατοικίζειν has the same double meaning as *exegi monumentum* in Hor. *Odes* 3.30.1.

αἰδία 'eternal'.

#### 41.5-43.6 *The achievement of the dead and its lesson for the living*

Pericles' next theme is more traditional in *epitaphioi*, indeed stretches back to Tyrtaeus (fr. 12 West): the reasons for dying for one's country. He takes the current dead as his exemplum, to convince the survivors that they must be prepared to do likewise.

The first part (41.5-42.3) is a skilful transition from the portrait of Athens to the role of these particular soldiers in its preservation, and ends with a generalisation: a decisive contribution to the common good outweighs a lifetime of individual failings, especially for those who show ἀνδραγαθία - a euphemism (as the use of ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός elsewhere shows) for death in battle.

Next (42.4) comes a minute examination, written in T.'s most ambitious style, of these soldiers' thoughts in their last moments. (The theme is as old as Hector's monologue in *Il.* 22.96-130.) It presents them as reaching a complex, dignified and intensely rational *decision* to offer their lives: they must choose between the long life and material prosperity desired by the individual - T. sees these goals as entirely legitimate in themselves - and the claims of the state which must occasionally supersede personal desires (cf. in general the arguments of Pericles' last speech, 60.2-4, and Hermann Strasburger, 'Der einzelne und die Gemeinschaft' (cited 60.2-4n.).

Then 43.1-2 Pericles addresses his audience and exhorts them to develop the same resolution as the dead διάνοιαν 43.1 and τῆς γνώμης 43.3 refer to the attitude described in 42.4, by reflecting not only upon the city's greatness but also on these soldiers' ultimate success since their loss has been richly compensated with glory, 43.3-4; they should make for themselves the same decision - to fight and, if necessary, to die - that these men once reached 43.4.

He ends with an expansion of part of his opening words 42.1 μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως; it is not the desperate, but the fortunate who should welcome death, since at the height of their prosperity they have the most to fear from the future 43.5-6.

On this section see Loraux 98-104 and Rusten, 'The soldier's choice' (where the studies of W. Kohl, *Gymnasium* 85 (1978) 128-43 and A. G. Tsopanakis, *Gymnasium* 93 (1986) 164-7 should be added to the bibliography).

**41.5 οἶδε:** see on τοῖσδε 34.8.

**δικαιοῦντες ... αὐτήν** 'because they thought it right that they not be deprived of her'. The causal participle interrupts the emphatic initial phrases περὶ τοιαύτης ... πόλεως and γενναίως, which belong in sense primarily to μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν (*hyperbaton*, Introd. 28). (For another construction of ἀφαιρεῖσθαι cf. on 44.2.)

**πάντα τινά** 'everyone' (Sm. 1267).

**εἰκός:** sc. ἐστία.

**42.1 δι' ὃ δὴ καί:** 'for which very reason' (GP 219).

**διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος ... καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ... καθιστάς:** καὶ ... ἅμα connects the participles, and frequently indicates a connection of thought ('and ... also') rather than temporal simultaneity ('and ... at the same time'); here as often it encloses the first coherent word-group of the second clause (cf. 42.4 τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν ... λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες, 57.1 ἐπυνθάνοντο ... καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἡισθάνοντο, 90.3 ὃ δὲ ... ἐπλεῖ ... καὶ ὃ πεζὸς ἅμα ... παρεβόηθει. See also on 42.4 καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα. (On ποιούμενος see on 34.1 ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο.)

**μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν ... καὶ οἷς:** lit. 'that for us the contest is not for an equal prize as [for those] to whom ...' Comparative καὶ with ἴσος: GP 292; Sm. 1501a, 2875; cf. 60.6. (The antecedent of οἷς is omitted.) On warfare as an ἀγών in *epitaphioi* see Loraux 95; cf. μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα 45.1.

τὴν εὐλογίαν ... ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω: omitted antecedent again, 'the eulogy [of those men] over whom I am now speaking'.

φανερὰν ... καθιστάς: the adjective is predicative, 'confirming'.

42.2 καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα 'and yet the most important parts of it [the eulogy] have already been spoken'. The transition is one of contrast (on καὶ in such cases see *GP* 292): καθιστάς had suggested that Pericles had thus far been laying the foundation for a more extensive praise of the soldiers, but now it is revealed to be nearly over.

ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε ... ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν: the relative is not an internal accusative, but a second accusative with a verb of saying or praising (Sm. 1622; K-G I.322); it also represents the object of ἐκόσμησαν (cf. κεκόσμηνται 46.1; LSJ s.v. κοσμέω III.3 is misleading): 'for it was their virtues that made beautiful the qualities which I have glorified in the city'.

πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων: dative of advantage (Sm. 1481).

ἰσόρροπος 'equivalent to', with τῶν ἔργων.

ὥσπερ τῶνδε: note the asymmetry with πολλοῖς: 'and not for many of the Greeks would reputation be manifestly equivalent to the facts, like theirs'. On λόγος/ἔργον see on 40.1; with the formulation here compare 1.69.5, καίτοι ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει.

ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν: without the article also at Plato, *Protag.* 325A and *Meno* 71E; in the latter it is contrasted with γυναικὸς ἀρετὴ (cf. γυναικείας ἀρετῆς 45.2 below).

πρώτῃ τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιούσα: 'as either a first indication [if their virtue had not been known before] or a final confirmation [if it had]'. On τε ... καὶ of alternatives see on 35.1 εὐ τε καὶ χεῖρον.

42.3 καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τᾶλλα χεῖροσι: dative of advantage and accusative of respect, 'for even for those who were worse in other things ...' What follows is a parenthetical generalisation (ὠφέλησαν and ἔβλαψαν are gnomic aorists); it casts no aspersions on the current dead, to whom Pericles returns with τῶνδε δέ in 42.4.

τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν: virtually = 'willingness to die in wartime for one's country', see on ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν 35.1.

προτιθεσθαι: passive with δίκαιον (sc. ἐστί): 'it is right that their ἀνδραγαθία ... be given preference [i.e. over their faults]'. (Bétant,

*Lexicon Thucydideum* s.v. is wrong to compare 3.64.4 ἀνδραγαθίαν προύθεσθε.)

**ἀφανίσαντες:** modal.

**ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων:** = ἰδία. T. often uses prepositions with neuter adjectives (usually singular, but for the plural cf. 3.4 ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν) as adverbial phrases: ἴσον alone appears with ἀπό (89.2), ἐκ (3.4), ἐν (60.6), and περὶ (42.1); and cf. ἐξ ὀλίγου 11.4 ('suddenly'), ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου 44.3 ('equally'), ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ 21.2 ('openly'), ἐς αἰδίον 64.3 ('for ever').

**42.4** Flashar 29 justly called this 'probably the most difficult sentence in T.'s history', and Dover (*Thucydides* 9-10) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thuc. idiom.* 16, 1.436 Usener-Radermacher) would agree. The text is not, however, corrupt. The long, complex sentence is built from a sequence of verbs describing the soldiers' decisions (προτιμήσαντες, ποθεινοτέραν ... λαβόντες, νομίσαντες, ἐβουλήθησαν, ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἀξιούντες, ἡγησάμενοι) and their corresponding actions (οὔτε ... ἐμαλακίσθη, οὔτε ... ἀναβολὴν ... ἐποιήσαντο, αἰσχρὸν ... ἐφυγον, ἔργον ... ὑπέμειναν); these are arranged in several standard Thucydidean structural patterns (each of which is considerably varied in detail):

1. Antithesis: τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι / τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν ... ἐπιτρέψαντες / ἔργῳ δὲ ... ἀξιούντες ... τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἐφυγον / τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν
2. Negative-positive contrast (Introd. 24): οὔτε ... ἐμαλακίσθη, οὔτε ... ἀναβολὴν ... ἐποιήσαντο· τὴν δὲ ... ἐβουλήθησαν
3. καὶ ... ἅμα (see on 42.1): λαβόντες καὶ ... ἅμα ... νομίσαντες, ὑπέμειναν καὶ ... ἅμα ... ἀπηλλάγησαν.
4. Comparison (Introd. 24): τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ... ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι, ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους.

The effect is of a swift series of calculations, by which the soldiers persuade themselves to place their lives at risk; after so much elaborately structured expression, the conclusion is given in the simple ἀπηλλάγησαν (cf. the similar use of ἀπέκτειναν to close the sentence on the tyrannicides, 1.20.2).

A free translation (for more detailed discussion of the many problems see nn. below, and Rusten, *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 49-76):

'As for these men: of those who had wealth not one turned coward because he preferred to prolong its enjoyment, nor did

any pauper, hoping he could yet escape his poverty and become rich, postpone the dread moment. But taking the victory over their enemies to be more desired than that, and believing this the most glorious of risks, they were willing to pursue the victory at this risk, while delaying the rest, deciding to hope for prosperity in a future that was uncertain, but resolving to take in hand personally what confronted them now; and, recognising that resistance and death were involved in it rather than surrender and survival, they fled from disgrace, but faced up to their task with their lives; and through the fortune of the briefest instant, at the height of glory rather than fear, they departed.'

**τῶνδε δέ:** δέ = ἀλλά (on the pronoun see on τοῖσδε 34.8).

**οὔτε πλούτου ... οὔτε πενίας:** Pericles divides the Athenian citizens into two groups according to financial status, in much the same language as in 40.1-2 (πλούτῳ τε ... καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι ... διαφεύγειν). Each co-ordinating negative is followed immediately by the key word in its phrase, with some distortion of word order for emphasis (Introd. 28): πλούτου is separated from ἀπόλαυσιν on which it depends, and πενίας is placed before the clause with ὡς where it logically belongs (and where αὐτήν repeats it). The latter produces a vague genitive ('because of the hope *connected with* poverty, that ...'), but for similar cases cf. 1.61.1, 1.97.2; Sm. 2182b; K-G II.580).

**τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν** 'the continued enjoyment'.

**ἐλπίδι:** causal dative, explained further by ὡς ... πλουτήσκειν.

**καὶν ἔτι:** with πλουτήσκειν (καί = 'even'). Adverbs are often placed early in their clauses for emphasis (cf. ἤδη 25.5, νῦν 44.1, ἄνω 83.1).

**διαφυγών:** conditional.

**ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποίησατο** 'postponed what he feared' (see on 34.1).

**τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ...:** δέ = ἀλλά, introducing the positive side of the negative-positive contrast begun with οὔτε ... οὔτε above; but the statement of what the soldiers *did* do continues much longer (until ἀπηλλάγησαν, the final word of the sentence) than what they did *not*.

**ποθεινοτέρων αὐτῶν** 'more desirable than them'. αὐτά combines the contents (enjoyment of existing wealth and escape from poverty) of both phrases above (cf. on ἡλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά 36.4).



**λαβόντες:** used as a verb of perception also at 3.38.4.

**καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα ...:** καὶ ... ἅμα connects λαβόντες and νομίσαντες (42.1n.).

**μετ' αὐτοῦ:** referring back to κινδύνων ... τόνδε κάλλιστον (μετὰ κινδύνου (-ων) = 'at risk of their lives' 3.56.5, 5.107.1, 6.31.1, 6.72.4).

**τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι:** as above, the soldier's choice (usually between bravery or cowardice on the field) is presented as one between military action and personal prosperity. The resulting antithesis (τοὺς = the enemy, τῶν = wealth) is rather artificial, but the infinitive ἐφίεσθαι (attacked by Gomme) is sound: T. is careful to insist (with οὔτε ... προτιμήσας and ποθεινότεραν above, and ἐλπίδι ἐπιτρέψαντες below) that these soldiers continue to wish for prosperity, while thinking it less important than victory.

**ἐλπίδι μὲν ... ἔργῳ δέ:** the datives appear at first to be parallel, but are grammatically unrelated: ἐλπίδι ... ἐπιτρέψαντες corresponds to σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι, while ἔργῳ is dative of respect. This antithesis reproduces the last one (immediate action for victory vs. merely continuing to hope for wealth) in reverse order.

**τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσῃν ... τοῦ ἤδη ὀρωμένου:** grammatically disparate but logically parallel: future (κατορθώσῃν) vs. present (ἤδη) and invisible (ἀφανῆ) vs. visible (ὀρωμένου). On the neuter adjective with genitive (= 'uncertain success in the future') cf. on 44.4 τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας.

**ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ γησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι:** this phrase has been judged corrupt by nearly every editor for the past century, but the problems do not seem insoluble.

(1) The manuscripts provide only one inferior variant, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι, which (a) necessitates further changes by modern editors (the version quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have arisen in this way), (b) is an easy error palaeographically (assimilation of endings), and (c) destroys the parallelism between the articular infinitives τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν = 'to keep fighting and suffer' (i.e. 'die') and τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι = 'to survive by surrendering' – the *variatio* which balances the infinitive ἀμύνεσθαι with the modal participle ἐνδόντες (in the nominative to agree with the subject of the sentence) is characteristically Thucydidean.

(2) These two articular infinitives are contrasted (in the common form 'x μᾶλλον ἢ y', Introd. 25) in an indirect statement with ἡγησά-

μενοι (sc. εἶναι): 'considering that fighting and dying rather than surviving through surrender were ...' (Stahl's suggestion (still repeated in LSJ s.v. ἡγέομαι III.4), that μάλλον ἡγεῖσθαι be taken together to mean 'prefer', is not supported by any true parallels.)

(3) We require then only a predicate, and the only possible one – and a very suitable one – is ἐν αὐτῷ (where αὐτῷ = τῷ ἤδη ὀρωμένῳ which they have just decided to undertake). ἐν is often used in predications where 'one thing involves another' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 959; e.g. *Erech.* fr. 362 ἐν τῷ πένεσθαι δ' ἐστὶν ἢ τ' ἀδοξία ... ἢ τ' ἀτιμία βίου), so that this phrase continues the soldiers' calculations: 'thinking that in it [the task confronting them] were involved fighting ... rather than surviving ...'

For fuller discussion see Rusten, 'The soldier's choice' 62–7.

τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου: see on 44.4 τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας.

ἔφυγον ... ὑπέμειναν: oxymoron (Introd. 27); the basic choice of the soldier is to flee or stand his ground, but the only thing these soldiers fled was the shame of being a φυγόμαχος.

καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μάλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν: four basic Greek abstract concepts (καιρός, τύχη, δόξα and δέος) occur here in the genitive, without a clear indication of the grammatical relationship between them. The possibilities are numerous, and nearly every one has been argued by one interpreter or another (usually with some distortion of the basic meanings of these words). But an attention to structural patterns and usage can assist in sorting them out:

(1) The common pattern 'x μάλλον ἢ y' suggests that δόξα and δέος are contrasted, which leads to the assumption (natural in any case) that both are dependent on ἀκμῇ. To say that the soldiers died 'at the height of their glory rather than their fear' is characteristically Thucydidean praise, expressed both positively and negatively and using an antithesis (fame vs. fear) of form rather than sense.

(2) ἀκμῇ is not governed by ἅμα acting as a preposition, but stands alone. (The normal phrase is ἐν ἀκμῇ + genitive, but cf. Pind. *P.* 4.64 φοινικανθέμου ἥρος ἀκμῇ; Plut. *Per.* 13.23 μιᾶς ἀκμῇ πολιτείας; *Quaest. Conv.* 659a12 ἀκμῇ σελήνης. ἅμα ἀκμῇ on the other hand seems never to occur elsewhere, not even in imitations of this passage.) Therefore ἅμα belongs to καὶ as a connective (for the pattern see on 42.1); in this case the words which καὶ ... ἅμα enclose, δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης, ought to comprise semantically a single phrase.



(3) *καῖρός* and *τύχη* are natural partners (Plato, *Laws* 4.709B7; Dem. *Phil.* 3.38, *De fals. leg.* 317), but in *δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης* which genitive is the object of the preposition? De Romilly chooses the first (with *διὰ* temporal, 'dans le bref instant où le sort intervint', so also Loraux 386 n. 120), A. Croiset (*Thucydide, livres I-II* (Paris 1886) ad loc.) the second (*διὰ* of agent, 'par le hasard d'un instant'). The latter is preferable, not only because of T.'s penchant for introducing a dependent genitive between a preposition and its genitive object (cf. 13.2 ἀπὸ τούτων ... τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου, and *Introd.* 28), but also because *τύχη* is a common agent of death, one to which no reproach is attached because it is outside human control (e.g. Antiphon 6.15; Lysias 13.63; Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* 149-50). As an epigram (probably of the Persian wars) puts it (*A.P.* 7.253 = Page, *Further Greek epigrams* 710-1, p. 199): εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, | ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη. For the phrase *διὰ τύχης* cf. Plato, *Laws* 709D.

(4) There remains the single verb ἀπηλλάγησαν (sc. τοῦ βίου, LSJ s.v. II.2). On the avoidance of ἀπέθανον in funeral orations see Loraux 341 n. 8.

**43.1** *προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει* 'to match their city'. (τοιοῖδε = such as they were described in 42.4.)

*χρῆ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὐχεσθαι*: from the following phrase sc. *διάνοιαν ἔχειν*: 'the rest of us must pray to have a resolve against the enemy that is less perilous, but be determined to have one that is no less courageous'.

*σκοποῦντας ... θεωμένους ... γιγνομένους ... ἐνθυμουμένους*: modal participles (with τοὺς δὲ λοιπούς) expanding ἀξιοῦν (*Introd.* 26).

*σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ*: negative-positive contrast with ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ... ἔργῳ θεωμένους (see on 37.1). For the futility of attempting to instil courage with a single speech, cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* 3.3.51.

*πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει* 'present to you at length, although you know it just as well yourselves'. The emphatic words are placed between the preposition and its object (*hyperbaton*, cf. 6.76.4 περὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σφίσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκείνῳ καταδουλώσεως, 6.87.4 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ πᾶς χωρίῳ).

*θεωμένους*: a fragment of the mid fifth-century comic poet Lysippus (fr. 8 Kassel-Austin) states: εἰ μὴ τεθέσθαι τὰς Ἀθῆνας, στέλεχος

εἴ· | εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι, μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος· | εἰ δ' εὐαρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιος. ('If you haven't got to know Athens, you're a block-head; if despite your acquaintance you aren't captivated, you're a donkey; if despite your pleasure you leave, you're a pack-ass'.) Note that the object here is not τὴν πόλιν but τὴν ... δύναμιν.

**ἐραστάς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς**: for ἐραστής of political and other loyalties cf. Hdt. 3.53.4; K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 156-7; LSJ s.v. 2 (where this passage deserves to be added).

**ἐνθυμούμενους ὅτι**: the main verb of the ὅτι-clause (ἐκτῆσαντο) is expanded with modal participles (τολμῶντες, γινώσκοντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἀξιοῦντες and προιέμενοι) which recapitulate the claims in 37.3 (sense of public duty), 40.3 (τολμᾶν combined with γινώσκειν), 42.4 (determination to sacrifice their lives if necessary).

**ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις**: the contrast is between γνώμη (implied in γινώσκοντες) and ἔργα (cf. 43.3 τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου).

**αἰσχυνόμενοι** 'keeping their honour intact'. αἰσχύνη and αἰσχύνομαι denote properly the guilty shame for an act committed, αἰδώς and αἰδοῦμαι the inhibitory emotion which prevents such acts; but the distinction between them becomes blurred by the late fifth century, so that αἰσχυνόμενοι may be used positively here (cf. 5.9.9, and αἰσχύνη in 1. 84.3, 2.51.5; Soph. *Aj.* 1079), and αἰδώς negatively (see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 244; the treatment of αἰσχύνομαι in LSJ needs revision).

**αὐτὰ ἐκτῆσαντο**: we might have had αὐτήν (= δύναμιν above), but see on 36.4 ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά.

**ὅποτε ... σφαλεῖεν**: iterative (Sm. 2340): 'whenever they failed in an attempt at something'.

**οὐκ οὖν** 'not on that account ...' On οὖν in an apodosis see GP 424.

**οὐκ ... ἀξιοῦντες ... κάλλιστον δὲ ... προιέμενοι**: negative-positive contrast (with δέ = ἀλλά), Introd. 24.

**κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προιέμενοι**: ἔρανος was a contribution collected for purposes that were charitable (corresponding to a modern foundation), social (a club) or financial (an investment syndicate); see in general Johannes Vendeling, *Ἐρανος* (diss. Utrecht 1961). Metaphorically it designates any service or favour, see C. Collard on Eur. *Supp.* 363 (Groningen 1975). Since, however, an ἔρανος could result in profit, the metaphor is applied specifically in κοινῇ ... διδόντες and ἰδία ... ἐλάβανον below.

**43.2 τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ... τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον**: μνημα can

be applied to both the actual tomb and the subjective memory of the dead (e.g. Page, *Further Greek epigrams* 881 p 272; P. E. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* nos. 6 and 10; Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* 244, cf. the use of *μνημεῖα* in 41.4 above). T. takes up the less suitable synonym *τάφος* and extends the conceit: in addition to the actual oration and tomb, the dead receive an *ἔπαινος* and *τάφος* that transcend time and place. For the language compare Simonides' praise of the slain at Thermopylae (fr. 26 Page):

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἅ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος  
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος·  
 ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ' εὐρὼς  
 οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν  
 'Ελλάδος εἶλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,  
 Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς  
 κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

**ἐλάμβανον**: the subject is still the *ἄνδρες* of the preceding sentence.

**ἐπισημότατον**: the predicative position of the adjective is equivalent to an emphatic attributive (Sm. 1169): 'the tomb, which is most conspicuous of all', (cf. 49.5 *τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ*, 38.2, 53.4, 62.1).

**οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ'** ...: negative–positive contrast, with *μᾶλλον* for emphasis in the first term (Introd. 24).

**παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ ... καιρῷ** 'on whatever occasion for speech or action arises' (for *αἰεὶ* cf. on 37.3).

**αἰείμνηστος** 'eternally' (see on *οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῇ* 36.4).

**43.3 στηλῶν ... ἐπιγραφή** 'an inscription on *stelai*', the normal way of commemorating war casualties; for examples see M–L nos. 33, 48. For a catalogue of all the surviving casualty lists from Athens and elsewhere see Pritchett, *The Greek state at war* iv.139–45.

**οἰκείαι**: sc. *γῇ* (as with *τῇ* *μη* *προσηκούσῃ*).

**σημαίνει** 'indicates', 'identifies' (sc. *τὸν τάφον*).

**ἀγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῳ**: for the conceit cf. W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin 1955) no. 1492 (Athens, c. 390–365): *σῆς ἀρετῆς ἔστηκεν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πλεῖστα τροπαῖα | ἐν τ' ἀνδρῶν ψυχαῖς, οἷος ἔων ἔλιπες, | Νικόβολ', ἡελίου λαμπρὸν φάος ...*

τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου '[a memory] of their resolution rather than their deed', repeating the stress laid on their attitude in the long sentence 42.4 rather than the fact of their deaths. For γνώμη see on 38.1, for ἔργον cf. 42.4 τὸ δ' ἔργον τῶι σώματι ὑπέμειναν and 43.1 γιγνώσκοντες ... ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. (But the range of these words' meaning is so wide that another possibility, with the genitives indicating substance, might be 'an intellectual memorial rather than a physical one', continuing the contrast in ἀγραφος.)

**43.4** οὕς ... ζηλώσαντες: the relative acts as a sentence connective (cf. ὧν ἔργα 36.4).

τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον ... τὸ εὐψυχον: neuter singular adjectives used as abstract substantives, *Introd.* 22. The reasoning is 'happiness is freedom, and freedom is bravery [so to be happy, be brave]'. For a similarly abstract Spartan argument cf. Archidamus in 1.84.3: both self-restraint (σωφροσύνη) and courage (εὐψυχία) consist mainly of a sense of shame (αἰδώς/αἰσχύνη – see on αἰσχυνόμενοι 43.1 above), the implicit conclusion being that restraint = courage.

μὴ περιορᾷσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους: περιορᾷσθαι means 'to watch from the sidelines [without participating]', cf. 4.73.1, 6.93.1, 103.2, 7.33.2. (LSJ s.v. περιοράω v.1–3 needs revision.)

**43.5** Another generalisation: the prosperous should not shrink from danger (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 597) but welcome it, since this is the best possible time for them to die – Pericles assumes, as the Greeks did generally (e.g. Solon in Hdt 1.32; cf. ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι ... ἐντελευτῆσαι 44.1 below), that the success of a life can only be estimated after it is over.

οὐ ... δικαιότερον ... ἀλλ': negative-positive contrast, with a comparative adverb instead of μᾶλλον (cf. *Introd.* 24).

οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ ... οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή ... κινδυνεύεται: a precise antithesis between the two relative clauses would have required οἷς ἐλπίς [οὐκ] ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ ('those who can hope for improvement' vs. 'those who must fear deterioration'), and the deletion of οὐκ may in fact be worth considering (see the next note, and for the ἐλπίς of the unfortunate cf. 42.4, 3.45.5–6); but the text is defensible if the first clause is taken closely with οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες, which it defines: 'hopeless unfortunates'.

ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή = ἡ ἐς τοῦναντίον μεταβολή 'reversal' (not 'the opposite change' from οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες, since these may *not* hope for improvement (οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ)).

ἐν τῷ ζῆν: temporal, 'while they live'.

ἐτι κινδυνεύεται 'is still at risk' (used personally in the passive, as in 35.1).

ἐν οἷς: equivalent to a dative of reference, 'in whose opinion' (see on 61.2).

μάλιστα μεγάλα: = μέγιστα (Sm. 1068).

τι πταίσωσιν 'make some misstep' (internal accusative).

43.6 φρόνημα: here, as in 61.3 and 62.3 = 'courage'.

ἡ [μετὰ τοῦ] ἐν τῷ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις: one prepositional phrase seems to have intruded into the text as a gloss on the other (see Introd. 31), but which is original? Many editors (Stuart Jones, Poppo-Stahl, de Romilly) delete the second, but 'the degradation *involved in* cowardice' (on ἐν where one idea involves another see on 42.4 ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι κτλ.) is equally good sense, and a typically Thucydidean variation for μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος in the parallel clause (see Ros 150).

καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα: see on 42.1 διδασκαλίαν τε ποιοῦμενος ... καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ... καθιστάς.

ἀναισθητός: predicative with γιγνόμενος (cf. 64.1 πρᾶγμα ... ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγεννημένον): 'which happens imperceptibly'.

#### 44–6 Conclusion: to the bereaved

The most suitable moment to comfort the relatives of the dead comes after the exposition of their eternal good fortune, and this section of the speech belongs nominally to the literature of consolation (see T. Eide, 'Thucydides' λόγος παραμυθητικός', *S.O.* 61 (1981) 33–45); yet as a glorification of collective public virtue, the *epitaphios* is ill-suited to personal consolation (see Rudolf Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolations-literatur* (Zetemata 18, Munich 1958) 40–5), and Pericles' attempt at one here (44.1) is brief and (as he admits) inadequate.

Another approach was to express pity for the relatives and offer them the state's help (cf. Lysias 2.71–6). Pericles begins to do this also (44.2), but his words become ever more austere and develop into admonition rather than sympathy. Greater compassion is found in the remark, quoted from Pericles' previous *epitaphios* (see on 35.1) by Arist. *Rhet.* 1.1365a, that the young men had been lost 'just as if the spring were removed from the year'.

The groups of survivors are considered one by one: the younger parents (44.3), the older ones (44.4), the older children and brothers (45.1) – each of these contains an exhortation supported by a generalisation – and finally the widows (45.2) and young children (46, who will not have been present). For the advice to the widows see 45.2 n.

**44.1 νῦν**: actually goes with πάρεστε (see on p. 165, κἄν ἔτι).

**οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι** 'I have no pity, but shall offer you comfort' (for the contrast by comparison see on 37.1).

**τραφέντες**: in indirect statement after the verb of perception ἐπίστανται.

**οἱ ἄν ... λάχωσιν**: the generalising relative clause = εἴ τινες (Sm. 2510; K. W. Krüger, *Griechische Sprachlehre* (5th ed. Berlin 1875–7) §51.13.11); cf. 2.62.4, 6.14, 6.16.3, 7.68.1: 'there is good fortune, if any receive ...'

**τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης**: modifies both of the following nouns, (μέν) τελευτῆς and (δέ) λύπης (cf. 64.5 and 5.105.1): '[receive] what is most glorious – in their case, death; in yours, grief'.

**ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ... καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι**: compounded verbs with ἐν- were especially popular in the later fifth century (Denniston, *Greek prose style* 129), and these are infinitives of purpose (Sm. 2008) with ξυνεμετρήθη: 'for whom life has been measured out [allotted] equally to be happy in and to die in', i.e. the limit of their happiness was also the limit of their lives (see on 43.5 above) – second best was to have *most* of one's life (τὸν πλεονα βίον 44.4 below) be fortunate.

**ξυνεμετρήθη**: note the change from generalising ἄν + subjunctive to the definite indicative.

**44.2 χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν ... ὄν**: contrasts with καρτερεῖν δὲ χρή below.

**πεῖθειν**: sc. 'that you and they have been fortunate'.

**ὦν ... ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα**: the relative pronoun is masculine as if περὶ τῶνδε had preceded, and = ἐπεὶ τούτων (cf. 1.68.3, 4.26.4; Soph. *OC* 263 with Jebb ad loc.): 'I know that it is difficult ... since you will often have reminders of them ...'

**λύπη οὐχ ὦν ... ἀγαθῶν ... ἀλλ' οὐ**: *variatio*: the first genitive (plural) has its neuter antecedent ἀγαθῶν incorporated into the relative clause (cf. on 34.3), the second is singular and has no antecedent. Note also the use of synonyms, πειρασάμενος and ἔθας γενόμενος, στερίσκῃται and ἀφαιρεθῇ: 'grief [is felt] not for the good things of which



one has been deprived before trying them, but for what one has had taken away after becoming used to it'.

**ἀφαιρεθῇ:** in the passive ἀφαιρεῖν may also take a genitive object ('be robbed of ...') like στερίσκηται (Sm. 1630; cf. on 41.5).

**44.3 ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι:** causal dative, 'because they can hope for other children'.

**οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία:** dative of possessor, the antecedent (subject of καρτερεῖν) being omitted. (For τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι see on 34.1.)

**ἐκ τε τοῦ ... καὶ ἀσφαλείαι:** both the prepositional phrase and simple dative are causal (*variatio*).

**ξυνοίσει:** impersonal, '[if you have children] it will benefit the city doubly ...'

**ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου:** see on 42.3.

**παραβαλλόμενοι:** modal with κινδυνεύωσιν, 'run a risk by staking their children equally'. The fourth-century speechwriter Dinarchus (*In Dem.* 71) charges that 'the laws require a politician or general who asks for the people's trust to beget children according to the laws'. Cf. παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα at Hdt. 7.10.θ' (where Artabanus *literally* wagers his children's lives on the soundness of his advice).

**44.4 τόν τε πλέονα κέρδος ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε βίον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι:** the order is severely disturbed, because the most emphatic words in each clause are placed first (Introd. 28): 'consider that most of your life, during which you were fortunate, was profit, and that this part [the rest] will be short'.

**ὃν ἡτύχεῖτε:** accusative of time.

**τόνδε:** sc. βίον.

**τὸ ... φιλότιμον:** abstract noun, 'the love of honour'.

**οὐκ ... τὸ κερδαίνειν ... μᾶλλον ... ἀλλὰ ...:** see on 43.2.

**τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινές φασι:** cf. 2 *Henry IV* 1.ii.229 ('a man can no more separate age and covetousness than he can part young limbs and lechery') and Ter. *Ad.* 833; Cic. *De sen.* 18.65-6; Simonides *apud* Plut. *An seni resp. ger.* 786B.

**ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας** 'in useless [old] age', Introd. 22.

**45.1 Παισὶ ... ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα** 'I realise that the children and brothers have a formidable task', cf. 89.10 and Ar. *Wasps* 533-5 ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὥς σοι μέγας ἐστὶν ἀγών, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπάντων.

**καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς:** 'because of their extreme virtue' (causal as in 27.2 κατὰ τὸ 'Αθηναίων διάφορον).



οὐχ ὁμοῖοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγωι χείρους: negative-positive contrast, *Intro.* 24.

τοῖς ζῶσι: dative of possession with φθόνος.

πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον 'toward competition'.

τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν: μὴ because generic (cf. 40.2 above), 'whatever is not in their way' (i.e. the dead, contrasting with τοῖς ζῶσι preceding).

ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίαι: dative of manner, 'with a good will that involves no rivalry'. Cf. *Hor. Epist.* 2.1.13-14; Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 386, and cf. on 35.2 above.

τετίμηται: with present meaning (see on κέκληται 37.1).

**45.2** 'If it is necessary to make some mention of the virtue of the women who will now be widows, I shall define it all in a brief admonition; for great is the glory for you not to be worse than your existing nature, and of her whose celebrity for virtue or reproach exists least among the males.'

Scholars of the last few decades have devoted an extraordinary hermeneutic effort to a new interpretation of this twofold admonition, turning it little by little into a sort of compliment: Gomme decided that the φύσις to which women must not prove inferior was 'noble, and something to be proud of'; P. Walcot ('The funeral speech, a study of values', *G. & R.* 20 (1975) 115) added 'it assumes the existence of a standard of excellence, and a high standard at that'; Dover (*Greek popular morality* 98 n. 7). compared 11.2 (μήτε τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι) and suggested that the expression is only formally negative. The second clause (especially the striking ἀρετῆς περὶ ἡ ψόγου) was sanitised by W. K. Lacey ('Thuc. 2.45.2', *P.C.P.S.* 10 (1964) 47-49), who argued that the only conceivable activity for which a widow might become known was her mourning for her husband, and that we must limit Pericles' suggestion to the avoidance of grief that is excessive (ἀρετή) or deficient (ψόγος). In other words, what Pericles *says* may seem forbidding, but what he *means* is realistic, encouraging, even benevolent advice.

Few deductions illustrate so well the hazards of separating form and content in interpreting T. The topic of women's virtue is introduced at all only with reluctance, and the language of the two items of 'advice' is unrelievedly harsh, even cruel: in the first, an expression found in Herodotus (ἀμείνων τῆς φύσιος γίγνεσθαι, on which see p. 177) is converted into the purely negative injunction not to fall short of an innate

limitation (ἡ ὑπαρχούση φύσις, cf. Arist. *HA* 608a21 ff. quoted below); in the second, the paradoxical definition of a great δόξα in terms of the least possible κλέος implies that a good reputation for a woman is virtually a contradiction in terms.

One element of this advice, the injunction to invisibility ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι (not ἀνθρώποις or even ἀνδράσι), is completely traditional, since the proper activity of a woman was ἐνδον μένειν (see Headlam on Herodas 1.37), and in court they were usually left unnamed unless under attack (David Schaps, 'The woman least mentioned', *C.Q.* 27 (1977) 323–30). The fact that widows are addressed may also be partly responsible for such sternness, since their attempts to assert themselves against grown sons could lead to friction (e.g. Dem. 27.13–15, 29.26; Hyperides, *Lyc.* 1).

But what sets the passage apart is the complete absence of any positive role for women in it, and this is probably a reflection of the Funeral Oration's relentless exaltation of the city (see introductory n. to 41.5–43). In the ideological struggle that begins in Athens once the state challenges the family for supreme loyalty – a conflict as central to the *Oresteia* and *Lysistrata* as to *Antigone* – women seldom had the chance to choose sides. They were daughters, sisters or mothers who protected their blood at all costs, and any attempt to transform them into patriots (as in Euripides' chilling *Praxithea*, *Erechtheus* fr. 50 Austin) was bound to be unconvincing. T.'s representative of the city therefore advises women, in effect, to disappear; he does not seem to care what they do, provided it conforms to what can be expected from them and does not interfere with the world at large. That T. himself might agree is suggested by the absence of women elsewhere in his history (T. J. Wiedemann, 'Thucydides, women and the limits of rational analysis,' *G. & R.* 30 (1983) 163–70); whether the husband of Aspasia thought so is another matter entirely.

τι: internal accusative with μνησθῆναι, 'make some mention of ...'

δοσαι: the antecedent (γυναῖκες) is to be understood from the adjective γυναικείας; in order to be closer to it, the relative clause is placed between the verb μνησθῆναι and its object ἀρετῆς.

μεγάλη ἡ δόξα 'great is the glory ...' applies to both parts of the statement (τε ... καί), which are, however, dissimilar in every other way: dative plural personal pronoun (ὑμῖν) vs. genitive singular rela-

tive (ἤς), appositional infinitive (μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι) vs. conditional relative (ἤς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ... ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾗ).

τῆς ... ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι: the infinitive in apposition to δόξα defines its nature (Sm. 1987), with dative χείροσι to agree with ὑμῖν. The standard phrase is 'be better than your nature' (i.e. than normal limits), cf. Hdt. 4.50.2 (in the winter, after receiving more water, the Danube μέζων τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται) and 5.118.2 (the Carians must fight with the river at their back ἵνα ... γενοίαιτο ἔτι ἁμείνονες τῆς φύσιος, cf. ἁμείνονες ἐωυτῶν Hdt. 8.86). Here the conception is reversed, and the addition of ὑπαρχούση makes even clearer the sense of limitation. For female φύσις the *locus classicus* is Arist. *HA* 608a21 ff.:

'in all the kinds in which male and female are found, nature (φύσις) makes more or less a similar differentiation in the character of the females as compared with the males. This is especially evident in humans ... for they have the most perfected nature, and so these dispositions are more evident ... Hence woman is more compassionate than man, more tearful, more envious and more querulous, more given to railing and to striking out. The female is more dispirited than the male, more despondent, more shameless and lying, more given to deceit, more retentive in memory, more wakeful, more shrinking, and in general more difficult to rouse to action than the male – and she needs less nourishment.' (Tr. adapted from G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, folklore and ideology* (Cambridge 1983) 98–9)

ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ... ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι: predicate, 'extends least far among the males'.

κλέος 'celebrity'. That δόξα is greatest where κλέος is least is a deliberate oxymoron, since the two are virtual synonyms and the latter is never pejorative. Arist. *Pol.* 1.1260a denies that women are capable of virtue in the same sense as men (see W. W. Fortenbaugh, 'Aristotle on slaves and women', in J. Barnes, M. Schofield and R. Sorabji (edd.), *Articles on Aristotle II* (London 1977) 135–9), but not every ancient author would agree: epitaphs celebrate women's virtues already in the fourth century (W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin 1955) nos. 488, 890, 1387, 1491, 1705), and Plutarch was moved by

this passage to collect stories in rebuttal *On the virtues of women* (Philip Stadter, *Plutarch's historical methods: the Mulierum virtutes* (Cambridge, Mass. 1965)).

**ἀρετῆς περὶ ἢ ψόγου:** *variatio*, 'for virtue or reproach', a polar expression (see on 51.3 ἰσχύος περὶ ἢ ἀσθενείας) which does not so much deny all female ἀρετή (cf. γυναικείας ἀρετῆς above) as = 'for anything at all'.

**46.1** Εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ ... καὶ ἔργῳ ... τὰ μὲν ... τὰ δὲ ...: a transition from the end of his advice to the audience to a reminder of the orphans' public support (cf. Cratinus fr. 183 Kassel-Austin; Aeschin. 3.154; Plato, *Menex.* 249A; Loraux 26-7), effected with antitheses (cf. *Introd.* 23 n. 71):

1. As for words

A. I have given my speech.

2. As for deeds

A. These men have died

B. The city will educate their children.

τὰ μὲν is the object of κεκόσμηται (the middle used with no distinction from the active ἐκόσμησαν 42.2 - cf. on 9.3), τὰ δὲ is merely adverbial (Sm. 1111; cf. τὸ μὲν 53.4). εἴρηται and οἱ θαπτόμενοι are shifted forward in their clauses for emphasis (*Introd.* 28).

**καὶ ἐμοί:** 'by me as well [as previous speakers]', cf. καὶ ἐμέ 35.3.

**πρόσφορα:** predicative apposition (36.4 n.) 'what I could say suitably'.

**τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε** 'henceforth'.

**ὠφέλιμον στέφανον ... προτιθεῖσα:** an athletic victor was often rewarded with nothing but a garland; Pericles emphasises that the prize for defending one's country (τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων) has practical value. ἄθλα below (placed first for emphasis) continues the metaphor, which is perhaps suggested by funeral games held for the Athenian war dead (see Pritchett, *Greek state at war* IV.106-7).

**οἷς ... κείται ... τοῖς δὲ ... πολιτεύουσιν:** lit. 'those by whom [dative of agent, see on 41.4] ..., for them [dative of advantage, Sm. 1481]'; with 'apodotic' δέ (*GP* 178) in the main clause: 'those who establish the greatest rewards for virtue, possess the best citizens'.

**46.2** ὃν προσήκει ἐκάστωι: sc. ὀλοφύρασθαι.

47.1 διελθόντος αὐτοῦ: i.e. τοῦ χειμῶνος, 'when it had passed'.

πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἔτελεύτα: ~ 4.116.3, a much shorter formula than T. uses elsewhere (see *HCT* v.390); perhaps the intention here was to keep the Periclean narrative (Funeral Oration of 431, the plague of 430 and Pericles' death in 429 – anticipated in 2.65) as continuous as possible (see the *Introd.* 19).

### 47.2–54 The plague

Between the idealism of the Funeral Oration and the unyielding rationalism of Pericles' last speech lies the concentrated horror foreshadowed in 1.23.3, ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασσα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασσα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος. (In fact the plague continued for two full years, and recurred in 427/6, as we learn at 3.87.) The description proceeds from the specific symptoms and general character of the disease to the consequent erosion of social standards in general.

The extent and technique of this section clearly suggest an interest in medicine, but T.'s indebtedness to contemporary physicians has been greatly exaggerated. The vocabulary reveals many coincidences with Hippocratic writings; yet most of the terminology is consistent with everyday speech as well (precise English translations, which must inevitably be technical, are to this extent misleading), and the only explicit references to ἰατροί are dismissive (47.4, doctors were useless; 48.3, speculation about causes is left to others, καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης; 49.3, declining to list the types of bile 'for which the doctors have found names').

T. also shows little interest in the prevailing climatic conditions, to which extant medical writings assign a vital role in causing disease (cf. the speculations in Diodorus Siculus 12.58, from Ephorus' account); on the other hand, he recognises two features of the plague – contagious infection and the conferral of specific immunity upon survivors – which are common to many diseases, but unknown to extant contemporary writings (see in general Vivian Nutton, 'The seeds of disease: an explanation of contagion and infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance', *Med. Hist.* 27 (1983) 1–34).

The scientific value of the description is less notable than its literary impact; here begins a tradition of plague-narratives stretching from Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 6.1138–1286 (often virtually a translation of T., as is Ovid, *Met.* 7.523–81), and Virgil (*Georgics* 3.478–566, a live-

stock plague) through Procopius (*De bello Persico* 2.22) and Boccaccio (*Decameron*, Proem) to Defoe's *Journal of the plague year*, Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*, Camus' *La Peste* and Bergman's *The seventh seal*.

On vocabulary and style see D. L. Page, 'Thucydides' description of the Great Plague at Athens', *C.Q.* (1953) 97-119, and Adam Parry, 'The language of Thucydides' description of the plague', *B.I.C.S.* 16 (1969) 106-18; on literary influence see Raymond Crawford, *Plague and pestilence in literature and art* (Oxford 1914) and Alice Gervais, 'A propos de la "peste" d'Athènes: Thucydide et la littérature de l'épidémie', *Bull. Assoc. Guillaume Budé* 1972, 395-429. For the identity of the disease see on 49 below.

#### 47.2-48 *The magnitude and origins of the disease*

The introduction wastes little time on any presumed source or possible treatments, and ends by declining to provide the sort of explanation (αἰτίαι 48.3; cf. 1.23.5) to which T. aspires elsewhere. The reason can be deduced from 47.4: since all human skills (especially medicine) and divine appeals were equally useless (ἀνωφελῇ) against the disease, T. limits himself to what might be of use (cf. ὠφέλιμα in the statement of purpose 1.22.4), a *description* of the disease (οἶον ... ἐγίγνετο) and its symptoms for future reference.

**47.2 εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου** 'as soon as it began', cf. 51.4, 54.5.

**τὰ δύο μέρη** 'two-thirds [of them]', in apposition to Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι.

**ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον**: as in the first year, 10.2.

**καθεζόμενοι** 'occupying' (lit. 'sitting down in').

**47.3 λεγόμενον μὲν ... ἐγκατασκήψαι**: the neuter participle does not introduce an accusative absolute (for which only the perfect εἰρημένον is used), but is nominative in agreement 'according to sense' with νόσος, which is viewed as a thing (Sm. 1013; cf. K-G 1.57 n. 3 and τιμάς, οἶα 35.1 above). The μὲν clause with participle is answered by οὐ μέντοι γε (56.4 n.) which is, however, not grammatically parallel because it contains a main verb: on this type of anacoluthon see Sm. 2147c; *GP* 379.

**καὶ περὶ ... καὶ ἐν**: *variatio*; cf. also τοσοῦτος (λοιμός) vs. οὕτως (φθορά ... ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι).

**47.4 οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν ... οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεὶα τέχνη ...**



**ῥσα τε ... ἰκέτευσαν ... ἀνωφελεῖ ἦν:** the subjects co-ordinated with (οὐ)τε (Introd. 23-4) set forth the areas from which help might have been expected: medicine, other sciences, and the gods.

**θεραπεύοντες:** causal; τὸ πρῶτον goes with ἦρκουν, and contrasts with τελευτῶντες below.

**ἀγνοίαι** 'ignorantly', dative of manner (Sm. 1527): 45.1 εὐνοίαι ('with goodwill'), 85.2 ὀργῇ ('angrily'), 11.7, 38.2, 62.3.

**ῥσσι** 'in proportion as', co-ordinates the two superlatives μάλιστα ... μάλιστα.

**τέχνη οὐδεμία:** sc. ἦρκει. Later biographical fiction (Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 383c; Galen, *De Theriaca ad Pisonem* 16, 14.280-2 Kühn) credited two famous physicians of different generations, Acron and Hippocrates, with having cured the disease; see Jody Rubin Pinault, 'How Hippocrates cured the plague', *Journ. Hist. Med.* 41 (1986) 52-75.

**ῥσα:** internal accusative (4.6n.) with ἰκέτευσαν and ἐχρήσαντο: 'the supplications they made at sanctuaries and the use they made of oracles and such were all to no avail'.

**τελευτῶντες** 'in the end' (see on 36.4), contrasted with τὸ πρῶτον above and referring to all the groups mentioned. τε here does not continue the series (οὔτε ... οὔτε ... ῥσα τε), but 'introduces a clinching or summing up of what precedes' (GP 500; cf. Introd. 23). 'Thus in the end they were defeated by their misfortune and gave up these attempts.'

**48.1 ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου:** i.e. south of Egypt.

**βασιλέως:** the Persian king.

**48.2 ὑπ' αὐτῶν:** i.e. the inhabitants of Piraeus.

**φρέατα:** here 'cisterns' (for collecting rainwater).

**τὴν ἄνω πόλιν:** Athens itself.

**ἔθνησκον πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἤδη:** ἤδη is inferential = 'accordingly' (LSJ 1.4.2, e.g. 20.4, 35.1 here with μᾶλλον as in 1.49.7, 6.49.4, 59.2, 8.71.3): 'the deaths were *as a result* much more numerous [because of the larger population there].'

**48.3 λεγέτω μὲν οὖν:** answered by ἐγὼ δέ below; each of the clauses contains a pair of indirect questions (ἄφ' οὗτου ... καὶ ἄστινας, and οἷόν τε ... καὶ ἄφ' ὧν).

**περὶ αὐτοῦ:** i.e. the plague, now neuter (see on λεγόμενον 47.3), as also in αὐτό and οἷον below.



**ἀφ' οὗτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό** 'from what cause it was likely to have arisen'.

**τὰς αἰτίας ... σχεῖν**: pleonastic, since ἱκανὸς εἶναι is almost the same as δύναμιν σχεῖν, and μεταβολῆς resembles τὸ μεταστῆσαι: '[let him say] what causes of so great a change he considers to be sufficient to have the capacity for disruption'. Cf. K-G II.586 and 5.23.1 τρόπῳ ὁποῖωι ἂν δύνωνται ἰσχυρωτάτῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

**ἀφ' ὧν ... σκοπῶν**: taken up again with ταῦτα below, the relative being governed only by the participle (cf. 39.1n.), with σκοπῶν and προειδώς as conditional participles: 'I shall reveal the things [symptoms] which, if someone should investigate [the disease] on their basis and gain some prior knowledge [of it], he would be most able to recognise it, if it should ever occur again.' For σκοπεῖν ἀπό/ἐκ cf. 1.21.2, 3.38.4, 5.68.2.

**μάλιστα ἂν ἔχοι ... μὴ ἀγνοεῖν**: litotes, in contrast to the ἰατροὶ (ἀγνοοῖαι 47.4 above).

**αὐτός τε ... καὶ αὐτός** 'since I myself was ill, and I myself observed others who were'. For the emphatic repetition of αὐτός see Radt on Aesch. fr. 350.7-8 (where this passage should be added).

#### 49.1-51.2 *Symptoms*

The section describing the effects of the disease itself begins and ends with the same generalisation (49.1 ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη = 51.1 ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα). Central (49.2-8) is the account of the symptoms (internal and external) as the disease progressed through the body: from the head to the trunk (καρδία, σῶμα 49.3-5), the bowels (κοιλία 49.6) and extremities (ἀκρωτήρια 49.7). Since T. is speaking of recurring phenomena nearly all the verbs in this section (and many beyond) are either imperfect or iterative optative (49.3 στηρίζειεν, 49.6 ἀκμάζοι, διαφύγοιεν, 49.7 περιγένοιτο).

Attempts are regularly made to identify the disease from T.'s full account of its symptoms and general features (the list is adapted from Wylie and Stubbs, 'The plague of Athens: epidemic and epizootic' 8):

Specific symptoms:

49.2: heat in the head; inflammation of the eyes; suffusion with blood of tongue and throat; foetid breath;

- 49.3: hoarseness with violent coughing and sneezing; vomiting of bile;
- 49.4: retching and convulsions;
- 49.5: pustular and ulcerating skin eruptions; total body hyperaesthesia and restlessness; irresistible thirst and desire for immersion to alleviate body heat;
- 49.6: terminal exhaustion apparently produced by diarrhoea;
- 49.8: loss of toes, fingers and genitalia; destruction of eyes; convalescent amnesia.

General features:

- 50.1–2: birds and dogs infected by partaking of human carrion;
- 51.3: all physical types equally susceptible;
- 51.4: communicable by contagious infection;
- 51.5: survivors acquired specific immunity.

But no candidate (among them smallpox, bubonic plague, measles, typhus, typhoid fever or a combination of two diseases) has yet found general acceptance. Holladay and Poole, 'Thucydides and the plague of Athens', review the problems and conclude that, since it is highly improbable that disease-producing bacteria exist today in anywhere near their fifth-century form, the Athenian plague is likely to be now extinct. Their work is as yet unrefuted, but it has not dampened continued speculation: see A. D. Langmuir et al., 'The Thucydides Syndrome', *New England Journal of Medicine* 313 (1985) 1027–30 (influenza and a variety of toxic shock); Wylie and Stubbs (leptospirosis or tularaemia, disputed by Holladay and Poole, *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 483–5); James Longrigg, 'The Great Plague of Athens', *History of Science* 18 (1980) 209–25.

**49.1 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος:** answered by εἰ δέ τις καὶ προύκαμνε below (for γὰρ see 2.1n.), to which in turn a contrast is provided by τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ... ὑγιεῖς ὄντας ('very few were ill with other diseases; *but* those who *were* ill developed into plague victims; *but* the rest had no prior sickness before developing the following symptoms ...'). For similarly intricate transitions see Introd. 23 n. 71.

**ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ** 'most of all years', adverbial with ἄνοσον. δὴ strengthens the superlative (*GP* 207); ἐκεῖνο goes with ἔτος.

**ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας** 'in regard to other diseases'.

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**πάντα ἀπεκρίθη** 'all symptoms were resolved into this [disease]'.

**49.2** ἀπ' οὐδεμίας προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ... ὑγιεῖς ὄντας: negative-positive contrast, the participle being concessive: 'not for any discernible reason, but suddenly, even though they were well'. On the meaning of πρόφασις here see H. R. Rawlings, *A semantic study of prophasis to 400 B.C.* (*Hermes, Einzelschriften* 33, 1975) 75-81.

πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς: not answered by δέ, but by ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν (*GP* 377) below.

θερμαί 'feverishness' (the occasional use of the plural in this chapter seems to be largely a matter of idiom).

ἐρυθρήματα καὶ φλόγωσις 'redness and inflammation'.

**49.3** ἐξ αὐτῶν 'after these [symptoms]'.

ἐπεγίγνετο: like ἐπῆισαν and ἐνέπιπτε below = 'ensued'.

καρδίαν 'stomach' rather than 'heart' (both meanings are attested in medical writings, and Lucretius 6.1152 mistranslates: *morbida uis in cor maestum confluerat aegris*).

δοσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὀνομασμέναι εἰσίν: Plato (*Rep.* 3.405D) complains that self-indulgent patients 'force the fine sons of Asclepius to invent "bellows" and "streams" as names for diseases'.

καὶ αὐται μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης 'and with great distress, at that'. καὶ αὐται adds a qualification to ἀποκαθάρσεις (*Sm.* 1246; cf. 61.2 καὶ ταύτης).

**49.4** λύγξ ... κενή 'empty retching'.

μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα: the participle agrees with ταῦτα: 'after these things [the ἀποκαθάρσεις] had ceased' (*Sm.* 2053).

**49.5** ἀπτομένωι ... θερμόν 'hot to the touch' (lit. 'to one touching it', dative participle of reference, *Sm.* 1497; cf. 51.1, 96.1).

φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἐξηνηθηκός 'broken out in small blisters and sores'.

ὥστε μήτε ... ἀνέχεσθαι: the subject changes from τὰ ἐντός to 'the victims' in general. ἀνέχομαι, 'endure', may be followed by accusative, participle or infinitive (*LSJ* s.v. C.11.2, 4, 5), and here it governs both ἐπιβολάς and γυμνοί (sc. ὄντες or εἶναι): 'their insides burned so much that they could not endure contact with quite delicate clothing and linens, nor anything other than [being] naked'.

ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοί: lit. '[doing] anything other than [being] naked' (on ἄλλο τι ἢ see *Sm.* 2778a).

ἡδιστά τε ἂν ... ῥίπτειν: τε corresponds to μήτε ... ἀνέχεσθαι above; the present infinitive with ἂν (*Sm.* 2270a n.) stands for imperfect

indicative with ἄν of past potential (cf. 35.1): 'so that they would have liked best to throw themselves into cold water'.

**τοῦτο ... καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα** 'many actually did this [τοῦτο = σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν, Riddell, *Digest* §55, cf. 81.8], into wells'.

**ἡμελημένων**: from ἀμελέω, 'unattended'.

**τῇ δίψει ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχόμενοι**: the predicative position of the adjective is emphatic (see on 43.2 ἐπιστημότατον): 'in the grip of a thirst that was unceasing'.

**ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ... τό τε πλεον καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν** 'whether they drank more or less was indifferent' (had no effect on their thirst), cf. on 42.3 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

**καθειστήκει** 'had become' = 'was' (for the pluperfect of καθίστημι equivalent to imperfect see Sm. 1952a).

**49.6 ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν** 'the inability to rest' (μὴ + infinitive after a noun implying hindering, Sm. 2749c).

**διὰ παντός** 'continually'.

**ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ** 'withstood the ordeal, contrary to expectation'.

**ὥστε ἡ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλείστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι ... ἢ ... οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον ... διεφθείροντο**: i.e. since the body was not emaciated externally, death occurred either (1) from τὸ ἐντὸς καῦμα, on the 6th or 8th day – here the majority (οἱ πλείστοι) died; or (2) from weakness caused by diarrhoea later on – here died many (οἱ πολλοὶ – of those who had survived the first stage). The repetition of διαφθεῖρεσθαι here is consistent with its recurrence throughout this passage: 50.1, 51.5–6, 53.3 (also in the analysis of stasis, 3.82.8, 83.4).

**ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἐβδομαῖοι** 'on the 9th or 7th day' ('8th or 6th' by our reckoning; see on πρότριτα, 34.2 above).

**ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως** 'although they still retained some strength' (cf. ἀσθενεῖαι below).

**ἐπικατιόντος ... ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν** 'descending into the bowels'.

**ἐλκώσεώς τε ... καὶ διαρροίας ἄμα** 'when severe ulceration occurred in them [αὐτῇ, sc. κοιλίᾳ] and unmixed [i.e. all liquid] diarrhoea followed ...'

**δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενεῖαι**: to be taken together, 'through weakness caused by it [the diarrhoea]'.

**49.7 ἀρξάμενον**: with ἀνωθεν, 'for the disease, which first settled in the head, proceeded through all the body, beginning from above'.

ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο ‘survived beyond the most serious stages’.

τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμεινεν ‘its spreading into his extremities at least (γε) left a mark’. ἀντίληψις appears to mean that it now seized upon (-ληψις) a new part of the body instead of (ἀντι-) the trunk.

**49.8 ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας** ‘fingers and toes’.

**στερισκόμενοι τούτων:** causal, ‘many [of those who lived through τὰ μέγιστα] survived because they lost these parts’. But the participle is vague enough to cover two different phenomena: (1) amputation of gangrenous fingers, toes and genitalia, and (2) ophthalmia with subsequent blindness. Lucretius elaborates the details (6.1208–12):

et graviter partim metuentes limina leti  
vivebant ferro privati parte virili,  
et manibus sine nonnulli pedibusque manebant  
in vita tamen, et perdebant lumina partim:  
usque adeo mortis metus hic incesserat acer.

(Self-amputation is not a necessary inference here.)

**εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ** ‘some’ (35.2).

**παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας** ‘as soon as they recovered’ (cf. εὐθύς with the participle 47.2).

**50.1 Γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου:** γὰρ seems to justify the entire collection of symptoms in 49.2–8: ‘for as the plague’s form was beyond explanation [hardly ‘beyond description’ since T. has just described it], not only in other respects did it visit individuals with a severity beyond human standards, but it also was most clearly distinct from any of the customary diseases in the following ...’

**τά τε ἄλλα ... καὶ ἐν τῷιδε:** ἄλλα is a foil for the second point (Sm. 1273; cf. 3.1n.).

**χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν:** indicating that animals were also susceptible (ἢ κατὰ in comparisons where a quality is disproportionate to another standard, K–G II.315).

**ἐδήλωσε:** with participle = φαίνομαι, ‘was clearly ...’

**ἄπτεται:** here ‘prey upon’.



**πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων:** concessive participle (γευσάμενα is conditional).

**50.2 τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν ... οἱ δέ:** the absence of γάρ (*asyndeton explicativum*, Sm. 2167b) sets off the twofold explanation, like a colon in English.

**ἐπίλειψις σαφῆς ἐγένετο** 'the absence of such birds [carrion-eaters] was notable'.

**οὐχ ἑωρωντο οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν** 'they were observed neither otherwise nor engaged in [περί+accus.] any such activity [as eating the dead]'.

**μᾶλλον αἰσθῆσιν παρείχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος** 'offered a better chance to observe the result [death from eating victims of the disease], because they lived with men'.

**51.1 τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα:** οὖν resumes the discussion of symptoms after the note on animals in 50.1–2; μὲν contrasts with ἔθνησκον δέ in 51.2.

**πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας:** dative participle of reference (cf. 49.5 ἀπτομένωι) but most easily translated as conditional: 'if one omits many additional peculiarities'. (πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα = ἄλλα πολλὰ (*GP* 290), e.g. 1.20.3, 3.56.1, here with partitive genitive, K–G 1.278.)

**ὥς ... ἐτύγχανέ ... γιγνόμενον:** indirect question after παραλιπόντι (expanding πολλὰ ... ἀτοπίας), 'how it chanced to occur somewhat differently in each one as compared with another' (ἐκάστῳ ... ἐτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον).

**ἐπὶ πᾶν** 'in general'.

**τὴν ἰδέαν:** accusative of respect, 'in its form'.

**δ ... γένοιτο:** iterative optative. T. ends the section by repeating the observation with which he started (ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη, 49.2); cf. 61.4n.

### 51.2–6 *General features of the disease*

**51.2 Ἐθνησκον δέ ... ἐν τε ... σῶμά τε:** τε defines the overall structure, see *Introd.* 23. The different constructions in detail mask a parallel sequence of thought: they died (1) whether treated or not; (2) whether they took one drug or another; (3) whether physically strong or weak.

**ἀμελείαι** 'while uncared-for', dative of attendant circumstance (Sm. 1527), answered by θεραπευόμενοι (*variatio*).

ἐν ... οὐδὲ ἐν ... ἱαμα: = ἐν οὐδέν Hdt. 1.32.8; Plato, *Laws* 5.747B.

ὥς εἰπεῖν: the absolute infinitive ὥς (ἔπος) εἰπεῖν (unlike English ‘so to speak’ and Latin *ut ita dicam*) does not apologise for a metaphor (there is none here), but limits a sweeping statement (here οὐδὲ ἐν, Sm. 2012b): ‘*virtually* no remedy’.

ὅτι χρή προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν: ὅτι (antecedent ἱαμα) is governed only by the participle (see on 39.1), which is modal: ‘by the application of which they could bring relief’ (χρή + infinitive = potential optative, cf. 4.34.3 οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα καθ’ ὅτι χρή ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι and 4.2n.).

τοῦτο: reiterates τὸ ... ξυνενεγκόν (cf. 3.12.1), ‘for anything that had brought relief to someone turned out to aggravate another.’

51.3 σῶμά τε αὐταρκες ὃν ... διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτό ‘clearly no physical constitution was sufficient to resist it’ (αὐτό = the disease). For σῶμα αὐταρκες see on 41.1.

ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας: a polar expression and thus perhaps not meant literally. It is, however, sometimes possible for a plague to take proportionally more victims either from those already frail or those in robust health (Wylie and Stubbs 11); T. denies that either is the case here.

πάντα: sc. σώματα. The subject of ξυνήρει is αὐτό.

διαίτηι ‘prescribed diet’, ‘regimen’.

51.4 ἢ τε ἀθυμία ... καὶ ὅτι ... ‘the depression ... and the fact that’ (*variatio*).

ὁπότε ... αἰσθοῖτο κάμνων ‘whenever anyone realised he was ill’.

πρὸς ... τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθύς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ ‘as soon as they decided there was no hope ...’ τρέπεσθαι πρὸς + accus. as in 40.2; for the neuter substantive see *Intro.* 22.

πολλῶι μᾶλλον προίεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ‘they surrendered themselves much more’ (than they were conquered – cf. νικώμενοι 47.4, 51.5).

ἕτερος ἀφ’ ἐτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ‘because they became infected one from his caring for another’.

ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον: the point of the comparison lies in the more numerous fatalities associated with diseases of livestock.

51.5 ἀπορίαι τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος: causal dative parallel to ἔρημοι (*variatio*, cf. 51.2 οἱ μὲν ἀμελείαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι); for the future participle with article see Sm. 2044, and cf. 34.4n. Either course

of action could be fatal: quarantine meant death for the patients by neglect, care for them death for the nurse by contagion.

οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι 'those who made some claim to virtue'.

ἡφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν: cf. 43.5. For αἰσχύνῃ see on 43.1.

ἐπεὶ καί: explaining why the houses of οἱ φίλοι (not relatives) were in need of visitation. καί is 'structural', marking the addition of a subordinate clause (GP 296-7) and untranslatable.

τάς ὀλοφύρσεις ... ἐξέκαμνον 'since in the end [τελευτῶντες, cf. 47.4 above] even the relatives grew weary of laments of the dying'. Whether this means their own laments for their dying relatives (cf. Xanthippe in *Phaedo* 60A; Alexiou, *Ritual lament* 4-5) or the victims' laments for themselves as they died makes little difference, since the point is that even the family could often endure the death watch no longer. (Both context and tense show that ἀπογιγνομένων cannot mean 'the dead'.)

51.6 Ἐπὶ πλέον δ' ὁμῶς ... 'nevertheless [despite the unpleasantness of the disease], those who had lived through it pitied anyone dying or in pain still more [than their φίλοι]'. ἐπὶ πλέον = μᾶλλον, cf. 53.1, 65.6.

διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε καὶ ... εἶναι 'because they had prior knowledge [of the pain; for προειδώς cf. 48.3], and were themselves now in a more confident state [free of fear for themselves]'.

ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν: καί = 'actually', GP 320-1.

ἐμακαρίζοντο 'they were congratulated'.

καὶ αὐτοί 'and they themselves, in their immediate exhilaration, had for the future as well some foolish hope that they would never die from any other disease either'.

ἐλπίδος τι ... κουφῆς: partitive genitive (Sm. 1317).

#### 52-54.1 General breakdown of social and moral restraints

The topics are treated in ascending order of importance: overcrowding (52.1-2), disrespect for religious sites (52.3), neglect of burial customs (52.4), and finally the weakening of all ethical standards (53.1-4). The last three are introduced by τε (52.3 τά τε ἱερά, 52.4 νόμοι τε πάντες, 53.1 πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα ... ἀνομίας, see *Intro.* 23).

For a survey of Athenian religious activities during these years see Mikalson, 'Religion and the plague'.

52.1 ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ: the resettlement de-

scribed in 14-17. T. mentions this only as an aggravating factor, but Plutarch (*Pericles* 34) says that many believed the excessive population in the city to have caused the disease (cf. 59.2n.)

οὐχ ἥσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας 'especially the newcomers'.

52.2 οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις ... οὐδένι κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροί: note the persistent negative-positive contrasts (Introd. 24).

ῥαί: causal with πνιγηραῖς, 'in huts that were stifling because of the season of the year [i.e. summer]'.

δαιτωμένων: a genitive absolute without accompanying noun (Sm. 2072).

ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροί ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο: νεκροί and ἀποθνήσκοντες (note the tense) are difficult to take together (<καὶ> ἀποθνήσκοντες Gomme), but νεκρός may refer to a body in its death throes (Eur. *Rhes.* 789; Antiphon 2.4.5): 'but the bodies lay on top of each other dying, and half-dead men rolled about in the roads or around all the springs, because they lusted for water'.

52.3 ἐσκήνηντο: pluperfect, subject still the vague 'they'.

αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνήσκόντων: like δαιτωμένων above, a genitive absolute without noun: 'since their deathbeds were right there [in the sanctuaries]'. For the pollution involved see Mikalson, 'Religion and the plague' 218 n. 3 and R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 33 n. 5.

ὑπερβιαζομένου ... τοῦ κακοῦ 'since their suffering brutalised them'. The plague affects social standards just as does war, which 'by removing everyday comforts becomes a teacher of brutality (βίαιος διδάσκαλος), and makes most people's emotions match their environment' (3.82.2, from the description of *stasis*).

οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτι γένωνται 'with no way out', lit. 'not having what they might become', a combination of such phrases as οὐκ ἔχω ὅποι φύγω with the desperate question τί γένωμαι; (deliberative subjunctive, K-G 1.222-3 n. 3).

ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο: τρέπεσθαι εἰς implies the beginning of a new course of action, here 'they became unconcerned about ...' ἱερά and ὄσια when used together = 'sacred and profane' (LSJ s.v. ὄσιος 1.2).

52.4 διὰ τὸ συχνούς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν: lit. 'because many had already died earlier [προ-] for them [σφίσιν, dat. of disadvantage]', i.e. 'because there had already been numerous deaths in their families'.

ἐπὶ πυράς: placed first for emphasis, but belonging with ἐπιθέντες and ἐπιβαλόντες below.

φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας 'anticipating those who had built the pyre'.  
 ὑφῆπτον 'ignited [the pyre]'.

καιομένου ἄλλου ἐπιβαλόντες ἄνωθεν ὃν φέροιεν 'if another body was being burnt, after throwing on top of it whomever they were carrying ...' (φέρειεν is iterative optative).

53.1 ἤρξε καὶ ἐς τάλλα ... ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας 'initiated increased public lawlessness in other matters [than burials] as well'. On ἐπὶ πλέον see 51.6n.

ῥᾷον: i.e. 'with fewer misgivings'.

τις 'everyone' (generalising (Sm. 1267), so continued with the plural ὁρῶντες).

ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν 'what he had previously concealed his fondness for doing' (lit. 'doing according to his pleasure', cf. 37.2). (For μὴ with a verb of denying see Sm. 2740.)

τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων ... ἐχόντων: the four genitives (dependent on μεταβολή) define two categories, each described by its old and new fortune: 'since they saw that the change, both among those who were [originally] well-off and died suddenly, and among those who at first owned nothing, but quickly got the others' possessions, was a sudden one'.

τάκεινων: i.e. the wealth of the εὐδαίμονες who had died.

53.2 ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ... ποιεῖσθαι 'to seek satisfactions that were quick and produced pleasure', a phrase packed with Thucydidean touches: a noun in -σις and a neuter adjective as abstracts (Intro. 22); a periphrasis with ποιεῖσθαι and a noun (see on 34.1); and an adjectival predicate parallel to a prepositional phrase (*variatio*, cf. 41.4n.). T. never mentions hedonism and the search for immediate results without an implicit criticism; see Jacqueline de Romilly, 'La condamnation du plaisir dans l'œuvre de Thucydide', *W.S.* 79 (1966) 142-8.

τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα 'their lives and property'.

53.3 τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν ... πρόθυμος ἦν: complementary infinitive with article (Sm. 2034c; cf. on 40.1): 'no one was eager to take additional pains ...'

τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ 'for whatever seemed right', a causal dative expressing purpose (Sm. 1519); the article + participle is generic, cf. ὁ βουλόμενος 34.4.

πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν 'before he attained it (τὸ καλόν)'.

**ὅτι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδύ, πανταχόθεν τε ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον** 'whatever was immediately pleasurable, or in any way conducive to it (αὐτό = τὸ ἤδη ἡδύ), this became both good and useful'. (It is implied that ordinarily ἡδύ and καλόν, κερδαλέον and χρήσιμον would be opposites.) For τε ... τε of alternatives cf. Eur. *Ion* 853, *IA* 56, *Hclld.* 153-4; Aesch. *Supp.* 380.

**53.4 τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ... τῶν δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδείς ἐλπίζων ...**: the subjects of the main clause (φόβος and νόμος) are abstract, and subsequent participles agree with the logical subject (as if he had said 'people were hindered by neither fear nor law ...') rather than the grammatical one; for the type of anacoluthon see Sm. 2148a.

**τὸ μὲν**: adverbial (as τὰ δὲ 46.1).

**κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ** 'since they judged it all one whether they were pious or not'.

**ἐκ τοῦ ... ὁρᾶν ... ἀπολλυμένους**: causal, 'since they saw that all [the pious and impious] were dying alike'.

**οὐδείς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιούς ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι**: τιμωρίαν governs τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων (placed first for emphasis), 'since no one expected [ἐλπίζω, 64.1n.] that he would live until a trial took place and pay the penalty for his wrongdoing'.

**πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι**: still governed by ἐλπίζων, with μείζω in predicative position for emphasis (see on 43.2): 'but that the penalty already adjudged against them, which was much greater, had become imminent'. For the meaning of τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην (sc. τιμωρίαν) see Gorgias, *Palamedes* 1 (*VS* 82 B 11a, II.294.23): θάνατον μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις φανεραὶ τῇ ψήφῳ πάντων κατεψηφίσατο τῶν θνητῶν, ἥτις περ ἡμέραι ἐγένετο (recalled by Xen. *Apol.* 27); Anaxagoras, *VS* 59 A 1 (II.7.7; his answer to the simultaneous news of his own condemnation for impiety and his sons' deaths): κάκείνων κάμου πάλαι ἡ φύσις κατεψηφίσατο.

**ἦν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν**: the relative (ἦν = τιμωρίαν) is unrelated to the main verb of its clause (39.1n.).

**εἰκὸς εἶναι** = εἰκὸς ἦν, changed under the influence of the preceding indirect statement, Sm. 2631, 'and before it was carried out it was right [they thought] to enjoy life a little'.

#### 54.2-54.5 Popular superstitions

Pericles classed the plague among τὰ δαιμόνια (64.2), and it was natural to seek its explanation in oracles; T. seldom speaks of these with-

out some criticism, but it is directed against superstitious people rather than the oracles themselves, and he considers it important to note their influence on public opinion (see Nanno Marinatos, *Thucydides and religion* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 129, Königstein 1981) 47–55, and cf. 17.1n.).

**54.2 οἷα εἰκός** ‘as was natural’ (Westlake, *Essays* 160).

**τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους** ‘the following verse’.

**φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι**: appositive, including only some of the original subject (cf. 47.2): ‘the old men [among them] alleging ...’

**αἰδεσθαι**: the present passive infinitive represents the imperfect (cf. ἡιδον 8.2, 21.3), Sm. 1867b.

**54.3 ἐγένετο ... ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις**: equivalent to a verb of saying, and governing accusative and infinitive: ‘people had an opposing view, that it was not λοιμός that had been named in the verse by the ancients, but λιμός’ (μή for οὐ in an emphatic assertion, Sm. 2723). On λοιμός (‘plague’) and λιμός (‘famine’) as a natural pair see West on Hes. *WD* 243.

**ἐνίκησε** ‘the view prevailed that ...’

**ἦν δέ γε οἶμαι**: δέ γε here is ‘strongly adversative’ (*GP* 155); οἶμαι is parenthetical.

**ξυμβῆι**: impersonal, ‘if it should happen that a famine occurs’.

**κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως αἰσονται** ‘they [the χρησμολόγοι] will probably recite it the latter way [with λιμός]’.

**54.4 μνήμη ἐγένετο ... τοῖς εἰδόσιν** ‘those who knew about it recalled the oracle ...’

**ἀνεῖλε**: sc. ὁ θεός = Apollo at Delphi (with ἐπερωτῶσιν sc. αὐτοῖς = the Spartans). The oracle was reported in the same words in 1.118.3.

**πολεμοῦσι**: T. often uses the dative participle (without article) as the equivalent of a conditional clause (e.g. σκοποῦσι 1.21.2, καθελοῦσι 1.139.1, ὑπακούσασι 2.62.3): ‘that if they would fight fiercely [κατὰ κράτος, 87.3n.], victory would be theirs’.

**54.5 περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου ... ἐσβεβληκότων δέ**: the contrast (μὲν/δέ) appears to lie between the guesses of others (ἡिकाζον) and the facts known to T.: ‘as to the oracle, they surmised that the events agreed (with the prophecy); and the plague *did* begin right after the Spartan invasion ...’

**ἐσβεβληκότων ... τῶν Πελοποννησίων ... εὐθύς**: cf. 47.2.



ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ‘to any extent worth mentioning’. With ἄξιον sc. εἶναι, cf. Ar. *Ecccl.* 350 οὐκ οὐκ πονηρὰ γ’ ἐστίν, ὅτι κάμ’ εἰδέναι (‘as far as I know’) and 94.3. On καί see *GP* 295.

ἐπενείματο ‘encroached upon’ (originally of cattle grazing on a neighbour’s land).

55–8: *Military operations of 430*

In the previous summer Archidamus’ strategy was to refrain from devastating the plain of Athens (20.1) and southern Attica; this time he omits nothing, and this second invasion was remembered as the longest (57.2) and most severe (3.26.3) of the war. He proceeds in three stages: (1) the plain of Athens; (2) the Πάραλος γῆ from Mt Hymettus to Laurion; and (3) the entire southern peninsula, in a sweep extending from west to east (see nn. below).

T. pays more attention to the Athenian response, which follows the lines of Pericles’ initial plan (13.2n.): they offer the invaders no resistance, but make naval raids on the north-east Peloponnese, and send more troops to Potidaea. (T. had described (1.56–66) how in 432 the Athenians began the siege of this rebellious ally; he neglected to continue the story the next year (*HCT* 11.93–4), but returns to it now to show the effects of the plague.)

55.1 ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην: T. treats this not as an adjective (it is glossed with παραλία below) but as a local geographical name to be explained (see on 19.2), and so it must have its traditional meaning of the western coast from Mt Hymettus south to Sounion and Laurion; this area even had an eponymous hero Paralos (Eur. *Supp.* 659; Phylarchus, *FGrHist* 81 F 38; A. Dain, *R.E.G.* 44 (1931) 292–6; cf. the name of the second Athenian sacred ship). Taking it with Gomme as ‘the whole of the coastal belt’ (both west and east) not only ignores this traditional meaning but involves the unlikely assumption that Archidamus spared the fertile Mesogaia.

τὰ ἀργύρεια μέταλλα: these silver mines were a major source of Athenian revenue and a tempting target (see M. M. Austin and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Social and economic history of ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1977) 310–319), but only with the occupation of Decelea in 413 was their output hindered to any degree (cf. 6.91.7, 7.27.3–5; Siegfried Lauffer, *Die Bergwerkssklaven von Laureion* (2nd ed. Wiesbaden 1979) 220).

πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ... ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ... τετραμμένην: sc.

simply γῆν (*not* παραλίαν γῆν); the Peloponnesians moved across the peninsula from west to east.

**55.2 τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην:** as described in 22.1.

**56.1 ἐπειδὴ ἐτοῖμα ἦν:** 3.3n.

**56.2 ἐν ναυσὶν ἵππαγωγοῖς:** horse transports had been used by the Persians (Hdt. 6.48.2, 95.1, 7.21.2, 97) but, to judge from Aristophanes' amusement at them (*Knights* 599), only recently in Athens. See Morrison and Coates, *Athenian trireme* 226–9.

**ἀνήγετο:** on the imperfect for aorist see *Introd.* 22.

**56.4 οὐ μέντοι προυχώρησέ γε:** μέντοι ... γε adversative (*GP* 405; cf. 47.3), with impersonal verb: 'but there was no success'. For speculation on the motives for this attack see A. J. Holladay, 'Athenian strategy in the Archidamian war', *Historia* 27 (1978) 401–2; Mikalson, 'Religion and the plague' 220.

**56.6 τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον:** partitive genitive (the expression recurs 1.30.2, 6.75.2, 105.3); the accusative (e.g. 57.2, 73.1) would imply total devastation.

**οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνακεχωρηκότας:** the main verb suits only the first participle (*zeugma*, see 39.3 n.).

**57.1 καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἠισθάνοντο:** from the smoke of the pyres. On καὶ ... ἅμα see on 42.1.

**57.2 μάλιστα** 'approximately' (as in 58.3).

**58.1 Ἀγνων ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου:** for the latter (of whom little is known) cf. 26.2; the former was οἰκιστής of Amphipolis (4.102.3), one of the most distinguished generals and statesmen of the war (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.30), and the father of Theramenes (J. K. Davies, *Athenian propertied families* (Oxford 1971) 227–8).

**λαβόντες τὴν στρατιὰν ἥπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο:** i.e. they relieved Pericles as commander of the same force (cf. 6.31.2).

**Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης** 'the Chalcidians near Thrace'. This designated a group of peoples whose major city was Olynthus (*HCT* 1.203–8); they had been seduced from allegiance to Athens by Perdiccas in 432 (1.58.2).

**58.2 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ... ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας:** the appearance of the disease in another climate and a previously healthy population are noted in support of T.'s observation of contagious infection, on which see the introductory n. on 47.2–54. (τοῦ = τούτου, Sm. 1117.)

**Φορμίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι:** they have not been mentioned for two years (1.65.2), and T. has no interest in their current activities either – only in their escape from the plague.

### 59-65 Pericles' final speech and death

We have seen the height of Athens' glory in the Funeral Oration (34-47.2), but also its plunge into the misery of the plague (47.2-54). T. now attempts to confront the contradiction by giving Pericles one more opportunity to address the Athenians (2.59-64), followed by his own estimate of Pericles as a leader (2.65).

#### 59.1-2 Pericles' unpopularity

Pericles' strategy for the war (13.2n.) had been called too soft during the first year (21.3n.), but now, after the more costly second invasion combined with the plague (52.1n.), it is considered unnecessarily harsh. It is to this stage that we owe the charges that Pericles began the war on personal grounds, either to divert attention from the attacks on his friends Anaxagoras, Pheidias and Aspasia (Plut. *Per.* 29-32; Ar. *Peace* 605-18) or to vent his spleen against Megara (Ar. *Ach.* 515-56; see 2.31n. and Schwarze, *Beurteilung des Perikles* 135-54). The Megarian decree, which the Spartans had used as a cover for their final ultimatum (1.139.1), and on which Pericles had stood firm (1.140.4-5), now seemed to many Athenians a fatal mistake.

The Athenians go so far as to send an embassy to Sparta with peace terms, which is rebuffed. Though T. provides no details, it is clear that Pericles himself was eventually brought to court and convicted of some charge, and even deprived for a time of his στρατηγία (65.3n.). But the basic features of his policy are retained.

**59.1 ἡλλοίωοντο τὰς γνώμας:** pluperfect passive, 'had changed in their attitudes', i.e. 'felt differently'.

**59.2 ὥς πείσαντα ... καὶ ... περιπεπτωκότες** 'since he had persuaded ... and they had become involved ...' The cases are different, but the participles are parallel (Ros 253, cf. 85.4).

**δι' ἐκεῖνον:** the closest T. comes to acknowledging that many Athenians held Pericles' strategy directly responsible for the plague (Plut. *Per.* 34; 2.52.1n.).

πρέσβεις τινάς: as Dionysius of Halicarnassus already noted (*De Thuc.* 14-15), T. suppresses all the details.

πανταχόθεν τε ... ἄποροι 'utterly desperate' (on τε see 8.4n.).

59.3 πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλεπαίνοντας: 3.3n.

ἡλπίζε: 64.1n.

ξύλλογον ποιήσας (ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει): ξύλλογος here = ἐκκλησία (cf. 22.1n.). It appears that the board of generals could influence the βουλή to convene special assemblies (P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 44-6); Pericles' powers in this respect were not extraordinary (13.1 and 22.1nn.).

τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης ... τὸ ἡπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον: neuter adjectives and participles as abstract substantives (Introd. 22): 'to move them to greater calm and confidence by dispelling their angry attitude'.

#### 60-4 Pericles' last speech

He attempts to restore Athenian resolve by reminding them of three things: the individual's duty to the state (60.2-4); his own unique qualities of leadership (60.5-61); and the glories of the Athenian empire (62-64.5). (I have not seen the unpublished dissertation (Kiel 1954) of W. Plenio, *Die letzte Rede des Perikles.*)

60.1 προσδεχομένωι μοι ... γεγένηται: i.e. 'I expected it would happen that ...' (3.2n.); and indeed he had: 1.140.1.

τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἐς με 'your anger against me'. For the attributive cf. 8.4 ἡ εὐνοία ... τῶν ἀνθρώπων ... ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. For the periphrasis with the neuter (Sm. 1299) cf. 11.4 τὰ τῶν πολέμων.

**60.2-4 The individual's dependence on the state.** Pericles' attempt to deal with the sufferings of the plague takes the form of the abstract observation that individual happiness is possible only if the city prospers, so that no one person should value personal survival over that of his city. Such reasoning is used by Macaria in Eur. *Hcl.* 503-34 (for patriotic self-sacrifice in Eur. *Hcl.*, *Erechtheus* and *Phrixus* see Johanna Schmidt, *Freiwilliger Opfertod bei Euripides (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 17.2, Giessen 1921) 28-30, 63-72); and Socrates applies it even more forcefully when he declines to break the law to save his own life in *Crito*. But it was not universally accepted, and in the comic fantasy of the *Acharnians* Aristophanes pointedly

refutes Pericles' dictum when the farmer Dicaeopolis obtains a *personal* treaty of peace, which he declines to share with his fellow-citizens.

See in general Hermann Strasburger, 'Der einzelne und die Gemeinschaft im Denken der Griechen', *Historische Zeitschrift* 177 (1954) 227-48. The inability of later Athenian citizens and leaders to look beyond *personal* advantage (note the repetition of ἴδιος in 65.7, 65.11, 65.12) is seen by T. as a primary reason for Athens' defeat.

**60.2 πλείω**: with ὠφελεῖν, placed early for emphasis (internal accusative, 4.6n.). The participles ὀρθουμένην, εὐπραγοῦσαν and σφαλλομένην are all conditional: 'I think that the city, if it is generally sound, benefits its private citizens more than if it prospers as far as individuals are concerned, but fails as a whole.' Cf. the sentiments of Creon (Soph. *Ant.* 672-6) and Socrates (Plato, *Crito* 51A).

**60.3 οὐδὲν ἥσσον ξυναπόλλυται ... πολλῶι μᾶλλον διασώζεται** 'is destroyed along with it no less [than if he were personally ruined] ... is preserved much more [than if his country were not prosperous]'. With εὐτυχούση sc. πατρίδι.

**60.4 ὁπότε** 'since' (Sm. 2240); sc. ἐστί.

**ἀμύνειν ... καὶ μὴ δ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε**: for the positive-negative restatement cf. 13.1n. (with μή sc. δρᾶν). 'What you are now doing' is explained by the following clause in asyndeton (Sm. 2167a).

**τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε**: the first genitive depends on the second (13.2n.); the phrase is repeated in 61.4 (where see n.).

**δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε**: 37.2n.

**60.5-61.3 Personal defence.** The twofold object of 60.4 (ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἱ ξυνέγνωτε) leads Pericles to remind them first of his own talents, then of their own inconstancy.

The enumeration of the four indispensable qualities of the statesman (intellect, persuasiveness, patriotism and incorruptibility 60.5-61.3) supplements the definition of the ideal citizen at 2.40.1-3, and provides a standard by which all subsequent Athenian leaders can be judged and found wanting (65.6-10n.); see G. Bender, *Der Begriff des Staatsmannes bei Thukydides* (diss. Würzburg 1938) 5-26.

Here the contrast between his rational consistency (forms of γνώμη and γινώσκω occur 11 times, see Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 11 and 164) and the emotional changeability of the δῆμος (59.3 τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης, 60.1 τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν, 60.5 ὀργίζεσθε, 64.1 δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε) reaches its height. Compared with the people of Athens,

even Cleon can claim to be consistent (3.38), but he is constant only in his rejection of reason; Pericles can actually control their passion and call it back to rationality, as in this speech.

The relationship between Pericles and his people prefigures the duel between reason and spirit in the Platonic soul (*Rep.* 4.439E-441B), just as Pericles' closing words suggest Plato's analogy between πόλις and ψυχή: 'for both cities and individuals, the ones whose intelligence is least wounded by their sufferings, and whose actions are most steadfast, are the best' (64.6). (But Plato himself completely rejected the notion that Pericles was a successful leader, *Gorgias* 515D-516D.)

**60.5 οὐδενὸς ἥσσων:** litotes.

**60.6 ὃ τε γὰρ γνούς ... ὃ τε ἔχων ... προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε:** for the sequence τε ... τε ... δέ see *GP* 513.

**ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη:** sc. ἐστι, 'is in the same position as (καί, 42.1n.) if he had not had the idea'.

**ἀμφοτέρα:** i.e. τὸ γινῶναι καὶ διδάξαι. Throughout this argument Pericles avoids repetition by using neuter pronouns (τοῦδε, τούτου ἐνός, αὐτά) for the qualities he is discussing.

**οὐκ ... ὁμοίως ... οἰκείως** 'without equal loyalty'.

**τοῦδε** = τοῦ οἰκείου, 'loyalty'. (For this pronoun referring backwards cf. 34.7n.)

**τούτου ἐνός:** genitive of price (*Sm.* 1372) = τῶν χρημάτων.

**60.7 μοι καὶ μέσῳ ... μᾶλλον ἐτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτά** 'that they [all four qualities, 36.4n.] are present even moderately [i.e. at all] in me, and not in others'. μᾶλλον ἐτέρων (= μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέροις) virtually excludes all competition, cf. 1.85.1, 2.15.1, 6.16.1; *Introd.* 24-5.

**61.1 οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται:** dative of possession with omitted antecedent, also with πολλή ἄνοια (sc. ἐστι): 'for those who have a choice, if they are fortunate in other respects, it is great folly to fight a war'.

**εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν** 'but since ...' (*Sm.* 2246). With the imperfect Pericles looks back to the situation he described 1.140.2-141.1.

**61.2 ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι:** his first words in the work (1.140.1) are τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, and his second speech begins (13.2) παρήνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον. See Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 11 and 164.

**ἀκεραίοις ... κακουμένοις:** equivalent to temporal clauses, 'while you were unharmed ... now that you are being hurt'.

τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ... μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι depends on ξυνέβη, the construction changing from dative to accusative (39.4n.).

ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης: for the neuter adjective with genitive (= 'your weak resolution') see Introd. 22. ἐν with φαίνεσθαι (usually of persons, here with an abstract noun) = 'in the judgement of' (Barrett on Eur. *Hippol.* 1320, to which add Soph. *O.T.* 677).

τὸ μὲν λυποῦν 'grief' (Introd. 22).

ἔχει ... τὴν αἴσθησιν: equivalent to a passive (Sm. 1753), with ἐκάστωι as dative of agent (cf. 41.3n.), 'is now perceived by each of you'.

τῆς ... ὠφελίας ... ἡ δῆλωσις 'the realisation of the benefit'.

καὶ ταύτης: 49.3n.

ταπεινὴ ... ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἃ ἐγνώτε 'too weak [Sm. 1063] to persevere in what you decided'. On the accusative object of ἐγκαρτερεῖν see Bond on Eur. *HF* 1351.

61.3 φρόνημα: 43.6n. (object of δουλοῖ).

πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ: dative of manner (Sm. 1527); for ὁ παράλογος as a noun cf. 85.2.

ὃ ὑμῖν ... γεγένηται: the relative pronoun summarises the whole preceding description, and has the force of a demonstrative (Sm. 2490): 'and this has happened to you ...'

πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις 'in addition to other instances'.

61.4 The end of a topic is marked with a reiteration of its opening words (cf. 16.1n., 18.3n., 51.1n.) on the transcendent importance of collective prosperity (τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ~ 60.4).

ἐν ἧθεσιν ἀντιπάλῳις αὐτῇ 'in a way of life worthy of her [the city]'. (The participles τεθραμμένους and οἰκοῦντας are causal.)

ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις: sc. ἐν again (cf. K-G 1.549, and 63.1n.), 'even amidst the greatest misfortunes'. (Not with ὑφίστασθαι (used absolutely = 'hold out'), which governs only the accusative in T.)

ἐν ἴσῳ ... δικαιοῦσι 'think it equally right ...' (the prepositional phrase is adverbial, 42.3n.).

τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης ... τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης κτλ. 'to blame whoever because of softness falls short of the reputation he has, and to hate whoever out of arrogance reaches for one he doesn't deserve'. Note the parallelism of the relative clause with the accusative participle (*variatio*) and the initial placement of the genitive in each clause (*hyperbaton*).



**62.1–64.5 The grandeur of the empire.** From his first appearance in the work until his death, the Thucydidean Pericles has only one concern, to 'sell' to the people his strategy for the defeat of Sparta. Each of his direct speeches concentrates on one of the three elements of his strategy, the first (1.143.4–5) on the impossibility of saving Attica, the second (2.37–42.1) on the glories of the current πόλις which alone they should defend, and here in the third (62–4) on the empire.

His discussion of empire is itself divided among three topics: the invincibility of Athens on the sea, which justifies a confident sense of superiority (62); the risks of vengeance from former subjects if they ever abandon their strength (directed specifically against the advocates of τὸ ἀπραγμον, 63.1–64.2); the glory of being the pre-eminent state in Greece (64.3–6). See de Romilly, *TAI* 120–30.

**62.1 τὸν δὲ πόνον ... μὴ γένηται τε πολὺς:** the clause of fearing (with its subject anticipated in another case, Sm. 2182) is placed first, as if to be followed by οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑποπτεύετε κτλ. But the sentence takes a new turn (ἀρκεῖτω ... ἐν οἷς ἀπέδειξα), and the accusative has no construction until it is repeated in αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον much later (K–G 1.330–1; cf. 87.1n.): 'as to the fear that our wartime effort be great and that we may lose none the less [lit. 'win none the more'], let my previous statements, in which I have demonstrated that it is falsely suspected, be sufficient; but I *will* reveal to you ...'

ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα: in 1.141.2–144.1 and 2.13.3–9. γε δὴ is emphatic, *GP* 245.

ὁ μοι δοκεῖτε οὕτ' αὐτοὶ ... ἐνθυμηθῆναι ... οὕτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις: *zeugma*, 39.3n. Note the concentration of prepositions with ὑπάρχον (Introd. 23): 'your possession of which relative to the empire, concerning [its] magnitude, you seem never before to have realised yourselves, nor have I [revealed it] in previous speeches'.

κομπωδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν 'since it involves a claim that is too boastful'. The predicative position of the adjective is emphatic, 43.2n.

καταπεπληγμένους ... παρὰ τὸ εἰκός 'unreasonably discouraged'.

**62.2 οἴεσθε μὲν γὰρ κτλ.** 'you think that you rule merely your allies, but I [also] declare that, of the two spheres open to your activity, sea and land, you are completely in control of one'.

ἐφ' ὅσον τε ... καὶ ἤν: *variatio*, 'not only as far as you now occupy it,

but also more [than now], if you wish it'. I.e. even waters they have never entered are under their control, since no navy can stop them.

**οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις** = οὐδεὶς (with βασιλεὺς οὔτε ἄλλο ἔθνος below).

**τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ**: dative of military accompaniment with πλέοντας (7.2n.), 'with your current naval resources'. (On παρασκευή see 9.1n.)

**τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι**: partitive with ἔθνος, 'among present-day peoples'.

**62.3 οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρεῖαν ... αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται** 'this power [over the sea] is not apparent by the standard of our use of farms and land'.

**ὧν μεγάλων**: the predicative apposition is adverbial (36.4n.), so that 'of which [land and houses] you think you have been deprived as great things' = 'whose loss you consider important'.

**οὐδ' εἰκός** introduces a long series of infinitives structured by comparison (φέρειν ... μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ ... ὀλιγωρῆσαι), addition (καὶ γινῶναι ... τῶν τε πατέρων ... φανῆναι) and contrast (μὴ χείρους ... φανῆναι ... λέναι δέ, where δέ = ἀλλά, 2.4n.)

**αὐτῶν**: referring back to οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς (as does ταῦτα below). Causal genitive (Sm. 1405) with χαλεπαίνειν.

**μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ**: the negative after μᾶλλον ἢ with preceding negative is redundant (Sm. 2753) and not to be translated.

**κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας** 'considering [the land] a tiny garden and [our houses] a bauble of our wealth compared with this [our δύναμις]'.

**ἄλλων δὲ ὑπακούσασι**: conditional, see 54.4n. 'If people give in to others, then even what they had before is usually diminished.' Note that the infinitive φιλεῖν is parallel to the participle ἀναληψομένην (Ros 406).

**κατ' ἀμφοτέρω**: explained by the following relative clause as τὸ κατασχεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι.

**φρονήματι ... καταφρονήματι**: datives of manner (47.4n.), 'not with courage (43.6), but with a sense of superiority'. The distinction of two apparent synonyms (followed by an explanation of their difference) was a well-known technique of sophistic rhetoric. It is parodied by Plato, *Protagoras* 337A1-C4, where Prodicus is incapable of expressing a simple opinion without distinguishing four sets of apparent synonyms (see H. Mayer, *Prodikos von Keos und die Anfänge der griechischen*

*Synonymik*, Paderborn 1913), and begins each explanation with μέν γάρ, just as here. (Cf. also Cleon's distinction of ἀποστήναι and ἐπαναστήναι, 3.39.2.)

T.'s application of this device is characteristically varied: when it comes to explaining the difference between φρόνημα and καταφρόνημα, he uses not these words themselves but two synonyms, αὔχημα and καταφρόνησις. Archidamus avoids repetition in the same way in his definitions of Spartan virtue, 1.84.3 (where αἰδώς = αἰσχύνη, cf. 2.87.4, 89.6nn.); but here, where semantic precision is the whole point, such substitutions seem inept.

See W. Wössner, *Die synonymische Unterscheidung bei Thukydides und den politischen Rednern der Griechen* (Würzburg 1937) 22-3.

**62.4** καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῶι τινι: καὶ ... καὶ connects two grammatically dissimilar elements (*variatio*): 'as a result of fortunate incompetence and to a man who is [in fact] a coward'.

καταφρόνησις δὲ δὲ ἄν ... πιστεύη: see on 44.1. γνώμη is causal dative.

**62.5** ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης 'when luck is impartial', ἀπὸ of circumstances as at 5.89 ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης.

ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος 'because of his consciousness of superiority', neuter adjective as abstract substantive (Introd. 22). Note the numerous contrasts with the μέν clause above: ἀμαθία/ξύνεσις, εὐτυχής/ὁμοία τύχη, δειλός/τόλμα. For a similar density of contrasts see 37.1n.

ἐλπίδι ... ἥσσον πιστεύει ... γνώμη δέ: δέ = ἀλλά, 'trusts less in hope, but [rather] in deliberation'. On the range of meaning for γνώμη see 38.1n.

ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳι ἡ ἰσχύς: the preposition is temporal, 'which has power (only) when the situation is impossible'.

**63.1** τῆς ... πόλεως ... τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν 'the city's prestige from its empire' (neuter participle for abstract noun, Introd. 23).

μὴ φεύγειν ... ἢ μὴδὲ ... διώκειν 'not to run away from ... or else (K-G 11.297.4) not to run after ...'

Μὴδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἐνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι: the Spartans claimed that they were fighting to liberate the Greeks from slavery to Athens, 8.4n.

ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου: sc. περὶ again (cf. 61.4n.).

κινδύνου ὧν ... ἀπήχθεσθε: the antecedent of the relative (= τοῦ-

των ἃ) is omitted, and the internal accusative with the passive verb (Sm. 1574) is attracted into the genitive: 'danger from the hatred you incurred'.

ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ: temporal, 'while you ruled'.

63.2 εἴ τις καὶ ...: 11.3n.

τόδε ... ἀνδραγαθίζεται: 'offers this fine gesture', internal accusative (4.6n.) referring back to ἐκστῆναι.

ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθίζεται: Pericles mockingly employs two expressions normally used for praise (for ἀπραγμοσύνη as 'lack of interest in politics' see 40.2n., for ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός of bravery see 35.1n.), undercutting them with the real motive of momentary cowardice (ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιώς). He never names his opponents; for some guesses on their identity see Andrewes, 'The Melian dialogue and Pericles' last speech' 8.

ὥς τυραννίδα γὰρ ... ἔχετε αὐτήν: Spartan propaganda had compared Athens' empire to that of the Persians (8.4n.), and for faint-hearted Athenians this suggested that they might now give up part of their rule and continue to survive, as Persia had once done. But Pericles here substitutes for this analogy a comparison of the empire to a *tyranny* (already drawn by the Corinthians 1.122.3, cf. Ar. *Knights* 1113, and continued by Cleon, 3.37.2 and Euphemus, 6.85.1), which can never be given up safely; see Raaflaub, *Entdeckung der Freiheit* (cited on 8.4 above) 244-7.

63.3 τάχιστ' ἂν τε: on summarising τε see on 41.1.

ἐτέρους τε πείσαντες ... καὶ εἰ ... οἰκήσειαν: τε/καὶ = 'either/or' (35.1n.), the participle corresponding with a condition (*variatio*): 'such people would ruin a city, either by persuading others [to give up the empire], or if somehow they should live independently on their own'.

The latter suggestion, that they leave Athens and discover how far they will get without military strength, is shown by πού to be facetious; it is well illustrated by Peisetairos and Euelpides of Aristophanes, who search for 'a place where we won't have to get involved in politics' (τόπος ἀπράγμων, *Birds* 44), and end by founding an empire.

τὸ ... ἀπραγμον ... τοῦ δραστηρίου 'non-involvement ... willingness to act'.

μὴ ... τεταγμένον: conditional, 'unless it is stationed with [i.e. 'accompanied by'] ...'

ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν: the verb is kept back for emphatic final position (Intro. 28).

**64.1 δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε:** 37.2n. Here he restates his initial theme (60.4, cf. 61.4n.) καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα πολεμεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἱ ξυνέγνωτε δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε.

εἰ καὶ ... 'although' (with both οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν and ἐπιγεγέννηται τε ... ἡ νόσος ἦδε).

**ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον** 'beyond our *expectation*' (cf. 85.4, 102.3), predicative with γεγεννημένον (cf. 43.6 ἀναίσθητος).

καὶ δι' αὐτήν ...' and I know that it is largely [on μέρος τι see next n.] because of this that I am hated considerably more [than in the first year] – wrongly so, unless you also credit me whenever you have some success contrary to your plan'. Pericles implicitly denies that an essential feature of his policy, ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ (52.1n.) greatly aggravated the plague.

**μέρος τι** actually = 'a *great* part' (1.1.2, 7.30.3). Taken with μᾶλλον ἔτι it is redundant, and Krüger suggested deleting μέρος; in fact, it is adverbial with δι' αὐτήν, exactly as at 4.30.1: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ πάθους, ὃ διὰ τὴν ὕλην μέρος τι ἐγένετο, 'as a result of his [Demos-thenes'] defeat in Aetolia, which occurred *largely* because of the forest' (into which his men had wandered, 3.98.2).

**64.2 ἀναγκαίως ... ἀνδρείως** 'with resignation ... with courage'.

**μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ:** for the preposition see 35.1n.

**64.3 γινώτε δέ** begins an elaborately structured (cf. 37.1, 41.4nn.) boast about Athenian power:

γινώτε δὲ ... αὐτήν

1. ὄνομα μέγιστον ... ἔχουσιν ... διὰ τό
  - A. μὴ εἶκιν
  - B. πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα ... ἀνηλωκέναι
2. καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην ... κεκτημένην, ἧς ... μνήμη καταλείψεται
  - A. Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι ... πλείστων δὴ ἥρξαμεν καὶ πολέμοις μέγιστοις ἀντέσχομεν
    1. πρὸς τε ζύμπαντας
    2. καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους
  - B. πόλιν τε ... εὐπορωτάτην ... ὠικήσαμεν

Note that every adjective (πλεῖστος twice, μέγιστος four times) is superlative.

**πλεῖστα δέ:** δέ = ἀλλά.

**ἐς αἶδιον:** 42.3n.

ἦν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδῶμέν ποτε 'even if sometime in this generation (νῦν) we give up some of it'. The compound with ὑπό-, ἦν καί (*GP* 300) and ποτε all imply that major losses are unlikely; but T. himself doubtless intends a reminder that even *after* the war the achievement of Athens remains unmatched.

καταλελείψεται 'will remain' (future perfect).

Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἑλλήνες πλείστων 'that we ruled the greatest number of our fellow-Greeks' (*polyptoton*, *Introd.* 27). ὅτι should have come first in the clause, but Ἑλλήνων is placed first for emphasis (*Introd.* 28) and τε adheres to it.

τοῖς πᾶσιν: 36.3n.

**64.4-5 Hostility to Athens' empire.** 'Better to be envied than pitied' is a commonplace of Greek aristocratic thought (already attributed to Thales, *VS* 10 A3, p. 64 line 9; cf. Pindar, *P.* 1.85; Hdt. 3.52.5; Aesch. *Ag.* 939; H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens* (2nd ed. Munich 1960) 67-8 n. 3. But Pericles' discussion is more complex; he distinguishes three forms of hostility (blame, rivalry and envy) and three different motives for it (laziness, ambition and disappointment). But no matter what type, this unpopularity (variously termed μῖσος, τὸ ἐπίφθονον, λυπηροῦς εἶναι and μισεῖσθαι) is less intense and of shorter duration than the immediate and future glory of empire.

**64.4 Καίτοι:** adversative, but with the μέν clause only (*GP* 558).

**64.5 ἐν τῷ παρόντι** 'temporarily' (cf. 63.2).

ἕτεροι ἑτέρων ἡξίωσαν ἄρχειν 'who dare to rule men other than themselves' (*polyptoton*, 64.3n.). ὑπῆρξε and ἡξίωσαν are 'empirical' aorists, expressing a conclusion derived from experience (*Sm.* 1930).

ἐπὶ μεγίστοις 'for the greatest results' (cf. 37.3n.).

τὸ ἐπίφθονον 'unpopularity'.

οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει 'does not last long' (ἐπὶ πολὺ temporal as at 16.1, 76.2).

αἰείμνηστος is predicative (36.4n.).

**64.6 ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρόν** 'with prior knowledge relating to the glory to come, and the shame to be avoided now'. The participle suits only the first preposition (*zeugma*, 39.3n.). Note the repetition of the two preceding ideas (ἡ παραυτίκα λαμπρότης / ἔς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα) in reverse order (*chiasmus*, *Sm.* 3020), but using synonyms (62.3n.).

τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ: neuter adjective as abstract noun, of action as opposed to intellect (προγόντες): 'with immediate zeal'.

ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε 'negotiate'.

μήτε ἐνδηλοὶ ἔστε ... βαρυνόμενοι 'nor show that you are disheartened'.

### 65 *T.'s estimate of Pericles*

This is perhaps the most complex and important chapter of T.'s history: Pericles' speech is followed (65.1-5) with an account of public reaction to it, which turns (65.6-10) into a contrast between his control of the Athenian public and the squabbling among subsequent politicians; finally (65.11-13), the same contrast - in a remarkable jump ahead to the war's end - leads to the suggestion that this lack of unity was the cause of Athens' defeat.

The entire chapter is highly anthithetical; yet its three major divisions are less distinct than they might be, because the transitions are contained in clauses that are grammatically minor (cf. 2.39.4n., and Pindar's use of relative clauses as transitions, e.g. *P.* 11.16-17):

#### 1. Pericles vs. the Athenians

ὁ Περικλῆς ...

οἱ δὲ ...

δημοσίαι μὲν ... ἀνεπείθοντο

ἰδία δὲ ... ἐλυποῦντο

ὁ μὲν δῆμος ...

οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ ...

οὐ μόντοι πρότερόν γε ... ἐπαύσαντο ... πρὶν ἐζημίωσαν

ὕστερον δ' αὖθις ... στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο

ὧν μὲν ... ἀμβλύτεροι

ὧν δὲ ... ἄξιον νομίζοντες

ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον ... ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ...

ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ...

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν ...

(transitional to next section)

#### 2. Pericles vs. later leaders

ὁ μὲν γὰρ ... ἔφη ...

οἱ δὲ ...

ταῦτά τε ... ἐς τούναντίον ἔπραξαν



καὶ ἄλλα ... κακῶς ... ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ  
 κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις ... ὠφελία  
 σφαλέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ... βλάβη  
 αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι  
 ἐκεῖνος μὲν ... κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος  
 οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ... ἐτράποντο ... ἐνδιδόναι  
 ἐξ ὧν ...  
 (*transitional to next section*)

### 3. Internal discord as the cause of Athens' defeat

ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ... ἡμαρτήθη  
 καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς  
 οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα  
 ὅσον ... ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν ... καὶ ... ἐταράχθησαν  
 σφαλέντες δὲ ...  
 ὁμῶς ... ἀντεῖχον  
 καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ ... ἐσφάλησαν

**65.1-5 Pericles vs. the Athenians.** Following Pericles' arguments on the priority of the state over the individual (60.2-4n.) the Athenians continue to be angry at him personally (ἰδίαι, περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἕκαστος), but as a group (δημοσῖαι, ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις) take his advice.

**65.1-2 ἐπειρᾶτο ... ἀνεπείθοντο ... ἐπεμπον ... ἐλυποῦντο:** descriptive imperfects (Sm. 1898, *MT* 35) for aorist (Intro. 22).

**65.2 ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ... ἐστέρητο:** parallel to the causal participle ἀπολωλεκότες (Ros 419).

**ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων ὀρμώμενος** 'even though they had started out with fewer resources' (LSJ s.v. ὀρμάω B.2.b).

**κατὰ τὴν χώραν** 'in the country'.

**οἰκοδομαῖς τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς:** datives of respect (Sm. 1516) explaining καλά. On κατασκευή see 5.4n.

**τὸ δὲ μέγιστον** 'and what was worst ...', accusative in apposition to ἔχοντες (Sm. 991).

**65.3 οὐ μέντοι ... γε:** the particle is progressive, 'and in fact ...' (*GP* 406).

**ἐξημίωσαν χρήμασιν:** the details of Pericles' trial in the summer of 430 – the accuser, the charge, and the exact outcome – are all suppressed by T., and the other ancient accounts of it (Plut. *Per.* 32 and 35; Diodorus 12.45.4; Plato, *Gorgias* 516A) are contradictory; for vari-

ous reconstructions see J. Beloch, 'Perikles' Prozess' (330-5 in *Die attische Politik seit Perikles*, Leipzig 1884); H. Swoboda, 'Über den Prozess des Perikles', *Hermes* 28 (1893) 536-98; Jacoby's commentary on *FGrHist* 338 (Idomeneus of Lampsacus) F 9; Kagan, *Archidamian war* 90-3.

**65.4** στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο suggests that Pericles was not reinstated after his trial and deposition (Diod. 12.45.4), but re-elected normally in the spring of 429 (Fornara, *Athenian Board of Generals* (cited 13.1n.) 55).

πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν: on the phrase (which implies no seniority of command) see K. J. Dover, 'ΔΕΚΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ', *J.H.S.* 80 (1960) 75.

ὧν μὲν ... ἤλγει ... ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες 'since they were now less sensitive in the grief which each individual felt for his personal losses ...' The relative stands for ἐκείνων ᾧ, the accusative being internal (63.1n.); the genitive is used without a precise construction to introduce a new topic (see Riddell, *Digest* §27 E and Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 950, τούτων μὲν οὕτω). For the effects of time in dulling anger see 11.7n.

ὧν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδεῖτο ... νομίζοντες 'and since they thought he was most capable for what the city as a whole needed'. Parallel to ὧν μὲν, but the genitive now depends on προσεδεῖτο.

**65.5** ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον 'for as long as ...', parallel to ἐπειδὴ τε below.

ὃ δὲ φαίνεται: 'apodotic' δέ after a conditional or temporal clause (Sm. 2837).

ἐν τούτῳ: temporal, sc. πολέμῳ (1.1n.).

**65.6-10 Pericles vs. later leaders.** It is difficult to generalise about such a diverse group of politicians as Cleon, Hyperbolus, Nicias, Alcibiades, Phrynichus, Peisander, and Theramenes (on whom see in general J. Beloch, *Die attische Politik seit Perikles*, cited 65.3n.); but it became a commonplace in antiquity to suggest that none of them remotely matched Pericles (Isoc. *De pace* 124-8; *Antid.* 230-6; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 28; cf. Lys. 30.28), and T. expands this idea into a general explanation of Athens' defeat.

Modern historians have noted that T.'s dividing line may be unfairly drawn; Pericles' rhetorical skill, professionalism and rejection of traditional family alliances may make him the first of a new generation

of politicians rather than the last of an old one. See W. R. Connor, *The new politicians of fifth-century Athens* (Princeton 1971) 119–33, and Finley, ‘Athenian demagogues’, *Past and Present* 21 (1962) 3–24.

**65.6** Ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ ἕξ μῆνας: Pericles did not die until September 429, but T. concentrates his influence in the first two years of the war and removes him from the story nearly a year before his death.

ἐπὶ πλεόν: 51.6n.

**65.7** ἡσυχάζοντας ... θεραπεύοντας ... μὴ ἐπικτωμένους ... μὴδὲ ... κινδυνεύοντας: conditional. The first refers to the refusal to resist the Spartan invasions (13.2n.); for the third caution (doubtless stressed by T. with an eye to the Sicilian disaster) cf. 1.144.1.

τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ‘risking the city’ (LSJ s.v. κινδυνεύω 1.2), repeated by Nicias 6.10.5.

οἱ δέ: of the Athenians (sc. ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν).

ἐς τούναντίον ἔπραξαν: for a survey of how far Pericles’ original strategy was disregarded even before 421 see A. J. Holladay, ‘Athenian strategy’ (cited 56.4n.) 399–427.

ἄλλα ... ἐπολίτευσαν: internal accusative (4.6n.).

ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι: causal, ‘since they seemed to be unrelated to the war’.

ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν ... σφαλέντα δέ: conditional with ἄλλα, the second clause containing the point: ‘they made other civic decisions ... on the basis of *personal* ambition and *personal* gain [repetition of ἴδιος, cf. 8.1n.] ... which, if they were successful, were rather a source of advancement and profit to individuals, but if they failed became a hindrance to the city ...’

**65.8** ἀξιώματι: 34.6n.

χρημάτων ... ἀδωρότατος: the genitive repeats the idea made negative with ἀ- privative (Sm. 1428), ‘most resistant to bribes’.

κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως: an oxymoron, since κατέχειν implies coercion and ἐλευθερία its opposite (37.2n.), but ἐλευθέρως in this context refers especially to Pericles’ frankness, and refusal to resort to flattery (L. Edmunds and R. Martin, ‘Thuc. 2.65.8: ἐλευθέρως’, *H.S.C.P.* 81 (1977) 187–93).

οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ... ἢ ... ἤγε: negative–positive contrast (Introd. 24).

διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ... λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἔχων ... ἀντειπεῖν: nega-

tive-positive contrast once again with a concentration of antitheses: κτώμενος τὴν δύναμιν / ἔχων (sc. δύναμιν), ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων / ἐπ' ἀξιώσει, πρὸς ἡδονὴν τι λέγειν / πρὸς ὀργὴν τι ἀντειπεῖν: 'since he did not say anything to please them in an effort to acquire power by improper means, but contradicted them somewhat angrily because he possessed power due to his prestige'.

ἐπ' ἀξιώσει: 34.6n.

**65.9 λέγων κατέπλησεν ... καὶ ... ἀντικαθίστη:** Eupolis' comedy *Δῆμοι* (from 412 B.C., with a cast of reincarnate statesmen from Solon to Nicias) contained a conversation about Pericles' oratory (fr. 102 Kassel-Austin):

- < A. > κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·  
ὅποτε παρέλθοι, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,  
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἦρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.  
< B. > ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει  
πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσι,  
οὕτως ἐκῆλει· καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων  
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις.

- (A.) He was the best speaker on earth!  
Whenever he stood up, like the great sprinters  
he spoke right past the politicians, from ten feet behind.  
(B.) Sure, he was fast – but besides the speed  
there was a sort of credibility on his lips,  
such a trance he put us in; and he was the only one  
who would leave a sting in his hearers.

See J. Schwarze, *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komödie* 131–2. For a different reaction cf. *FGrHist* 392 (Ion of Chios) F 15.

**65.10 οἱ δὲ ὕστερον:** answering ἐκεῖνος μὲν of 65.8, now of later leaders, not the Athenians in general (as οἱ δὲ in 65.2 and 65.7).

ἴσοι ... ὄντες καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι: causal.

αὐτοί: emphatic with ἀλλήλους (Sm. 1235).

**ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι:** ἕκαστος is in apposition to the plural subject (Sm. 952), and πρῶτος is predicative: 'since each of them was striving to become pre-eminent'.

**ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι** 'began to surrender even policy-making at the people's pleasure'. (In 424,

Aristophanes' *Knights* represents Athenian politicians as terrified and fawning slaves in the house of 'Demos'.)

τρέπεσθαι (middle, wrongly cited as passive in LSJ s.v. τρέπω II.3) + infinitive = 'begin [instead] to ...' as in I.50.1 ἐτράποντο φονεύειν ... μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν.

**65.11-13 Internal discord as the cause of Athens' defeat.** Here T. seems to trace Athenian defeat to a single cause, a lack of unity which began after Pericles' death, leading to two great collapses: (1) the failure to support adequately the expedition to Sicily because of internal slanders (ἰδίας διαβολάς); this can only refer to the recall of Alcibiades; (2) a more general reference to how the Athenians 'self-destructed' (αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσιν ... ἐσφάλησαν), by 'succumbing to conflicts among themselves' (κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες).

This single explanation is open to a variety of objections: the great victory of Sphacteria (431-41) was won after Pericles' death; according to T.'s own account of the expedition to Sicily, the witch-hunts which led to the recall of Alcibiades (6.60-1) did not in themselves contribute greatly to the disaster; and the years of Athens' worst internal discord (411-407), were also years of great military success (Lévy, *Athènes* 38).

It is possible therefore that this section reflects several ideas T. developed *after* writing most of his extant narrative (cf. *Introd.* 6). The successes of Alcibiades (without Athenian support) in 411-407 may have shown that he could have won Sicily (Westlake, *Essays* 170-1); in the last years of the war internal unity (ὁμόνοια) became a catch-word (Lévy 209-14); postwar rebuilders of Athens sought to save her honour with the notion that she had not succumbed to Sparta, but defeated herself (Lévy 39, although this idea is already present in I.144.1).

Here the difficulties of reducing T.'s work to a unity have seemed greatest. This is partly because the chapter has been given more authority than it was originally meant to possess: it is not a comprehensive explanation for Athens' defeat, but a eulogy of one leader's contribution: T. focuses so completely on the contrast with Pericles himself that he does not even name any later politician, and he stresses (65.12) not that Athens would eventually be defeated, but that the legacy of Pericles' policies postponed her defeat so long. Thus his primary concern is with the successes of 431-429, and the failures of

415-404 are brought in only as a foil. For T., Pericles is clearly the most talented leader of the war; but it is implicit in the many omissions in this section that even his leadership was only one among many factors; he does not go so far as to say that, if Pericles had survived, Athens would definitely have won.

See especially Westlake, 'Thuc. 2.65.11' (*Essays* 161-73); Lévy, *Athènes* 37-9; de Romilly, 'L'optimisme de Thucydide et le jugement de l'historien sur Périclès', *R.E.G.* 78 (1965) 557-75.

**65.11** ἀλλὰ τε πολλά ... καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς: ἄλλος τε is used as a foil (50.1n.).

πολλά, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, ἡμαρτήθη: ὡς introduces a prepositional phrase not so much *limiting* πολλά (3.4n.) as *explaining* it: 'the mistakes made were numerous, since they were in a large and imperial city ...' Cf. Hdt. 3.43.2 ἵνα μὴ ... αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε ... ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός, 1.66.1 οἶα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθενήθησαν. (This passage should be deleted from K-G II.494.)

ὅς οὐ τοσοῦτον ... ἀμάρτημα ἦν ... ὅσον ... οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες κτλ.: the construction with the relative is abandoned in the second clause (39.1n.).

πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν: with γνώμης ἀμάρτημα, 'an error in judgement about those whom they were attacking' (cf. 6.31.6).

οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα ... ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολάς: negative-positive contrast (Intro. 24), the participle being parallel to the preposition (*variatio*, Ros 194): 'by not making the right additional decisions for those who had been sent, but by personal slanders ...'

τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ... ἐποιοῦν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ... ἐταράχθησαν: parallel in form only, since the first article denotes a direct object, the second an accusative of respect.

**65.12** παρασκευῇ ... μορίῳ: for the dative see 7.2.

ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες: ἤδη is inferential, 48.2n.

τρία μὲν ἔτη: the numeral and the particle, universally condemned by editors, may in fact be correct. There are two difficulties: (1) chronological, since 'three years' appears at first glance to cover the events from the defeat in Sicily (summer 413) to the intervention of Cyrus (408/7, Xen. *Hell.* 1.4) and even beyond, to the end of the war in 405/4; emendations offered include δέκα and ὀκτώ (with inclusive

reckoning, see 34.2n.); (2) structural, because μέν has no answering δέ.

The first difficulty may arise, however, from a mistake on the second: τρία μὲν ἔτη is probably answered by Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον below (for the sequence μέν/τε in general see *GP* 374-6, and n. 2 on this passage in particular). In that case 'three years' include only the following events after the loss of the expedition to Sicily:

1. στάσις in Athens (beginning with the revolution of the 400, Thuc. 8.63-72): summer 411.
2. The allies rise in revolt (Chios, Erythrae, Lesbos, Miletus, Thasos): 412-411.
3. Sicilians join Peloponnesians against Athens (Thuc. 8.26): summer 412.

All of these events begin in 412/11; and the clause on στάσις (which through ὁμῶς coheres most closely with τρία μὲν ἔτη) describes a period which *ended* with the restoration of democracy, probably in 410 (Rhodes on Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 34.1), so that during these three years of chaos Athens might be said to have 'endured' (ἀντεῖχον). Thus we might translate:

'And after meeting disaster in Sicily not only with their army but also most of their navy [summer 413], and consequently being in internal turmoil [411-410], they none the less endured for three years [412-410 reckoned inclusively] not only against their earlier foes, but also those from Sicily who joined them [summer 412], and most of the allies in revolt [412-411]; and *later* [407] against the king's son Cyrus besides, who was providing funds to the Spartans for their navy.'

Certainty is impossible in the absence of T.'s own narrative after 411, but on the above analysis the awkwardness of the numeral seems a matter of sentence-structure (an initial division of the post-Sicilian war into blocks of years shifts instead to an enumeration of successive new enemies) rather than textual corruption.

**Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον:** sc. ἀντεῖχον again, although the verb does not adequately describe Athens' more aggressive role at this stage (*zeugma*, 39.3n.). I see no need to follow J. B. Bury, *Pindar's Isthmian*



*Odes* (London 1892), Appendix A, pp. 153-61) and Gomme (*HCT* II.197) in supplying τρία ἔτη once again here.

αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι ... ἐσφάλησαν: αὐτοί is emphatic with the reflexive (65.10n.); for ἐν of agent see 35.1n.

κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες probably refers to such events as the second exile of Alcibiades after the defeat at Notion in 406 (*Xen. Hell.* 1.5.16-17) or the trial of the generals after the battle of Arginusae later the same year (*Xen. Hell.* 1.7).

65.13 ἐπερίσσευσε: the subject must be supplied from ἀφ' ὧν κτλ., 'so many were the considerations on the basis of which he foresaw ...' T. explicitly endorses the statement of Pericles (1.144.1), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐς ἐλπίδα τοῦ περιέσεσθαι.

Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν: i.e. unaided (35.2n.).

τῷ πολέμῳ: 13.9n.

#### 66-70 Events of late summer and winter 430

Sparta now turns to new strategies: naval attacks on Athens' allies to the west, and negotiations with Persia. Both miscarry, and the Athenians capture the ambassadors to Persia and (in a violation of 'diplomatic immunity' noted already by Hdt. 7.137) murder them.

Athens on the other hand finally starves into submission Potidaea, which it began to besiege in 432 (see 55-8, introductory n.); the terms are criticised as too lenient (70.4). Here, as with the murder of the ambassadors, it is tempting to see the hand of Cleon, βιαιότατος τῶν πολιτῶν (3.36.6).

66 To sustain brevity, subjects are seldom added: with εἰσί and ξυνεχώρουν sc. the Zacynthians, with ἀπέπλευσαν sc. the Spartans.

67.1 εἴ πως πείσειαν: Sm. 2354.

Σιτάλκην: 29n. The siege of Potidaea had begun in 432 (2.1n.).

67.2 τὸ μέρος: adverbial (cf. 1.74.3, 1.127.2) with βλάβῳ, 'do considerable harm'.

τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν: i.e. his adoptive homeland, Athens (29.5n.).

67.4 ἔστιν ᾧ: 35.2n.

ἐς φάραγγα: probably the βάραθρον, a ravine into which were thrown the bodies of men convicted of harming the people of Athens (*Xen. Hell.* 1.7.20, Dover on *Ar. Clouds* 1449).

δικαιοῦντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι οἷσπερ ... ὑπῆρξαν 'thinking it

right to safeguard their interests by the same actions with which the Spartans had initiated' the pattern. (With ὑπῆρξαν sc. ἀμυνόμενοι.) Herodotus (7.137) notes that two of the murdered ambassadors were the sons of the two Spartans chosen to expiate an earlier similar crime.

**δοσους λάβοιεν**: iterative optative (5.4n.).

**68** T. gives the background of the conflicts between Acarnanians and Ambraciots in north-west Greece, which will form the basis of the Peloponnesian expedition the following year (80-92). On the region's role in the war see Hammond, *Epirus* 496-506.

**68.3 Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω**: brother of Alcmeon, see 102.5n.

**68.7 γενομένου τούτου** 'once this [the expulsion of the Argives] had happened'.

**αἰροῦσι ... Ἄργος**: the date is a matter of speculation: perhaps c. 439-437 (*HCT* II.202), but Hammond (*Epirus* 496-7) and J. B. Salmon (*Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford 1984) 266, 422-3) place it as early as the 450s.

**κατὰ κράτος**: 87.3n.

**68.9 τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν ... πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο**: 34.1n.

**69.1 Ναυπάκτου**: 9.4n.

**69.2 ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀποθνήσκει**: his name was found by Pausanias (1.29.6) among the funerary inscriptions of the Ceramicus.

**70.1 οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστασαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους** 'made no difference in distracting the Athenians [from the siege]'.

**οὕτω δὲ**: 12.4n.

**70.2 τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ**: Socrates' indifference to the Potidaean weather was astonishing to Alcibiades, Plato *Symp.* 220A6-C1.

**70.4 ἥι ἐβούλοντο** 'that they would have conquered the city as they wished' = 'on whatever terms they wished', cf. χρήσεσθαι ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται 4.7.

**ἐποίκους**: M-L no. 66.

*71-9 Summer of 429: the siege of Plataea begins*

T. continues in detail the story he began in 2.2-6: Archidamus' attempts at negotiations and subsequent proclamation of Plataean 'war-guilt' (74.2); the Peloponnesian attempts to breach the walls and the

ingenious countermeasures of the Plataeans (75-6); finally the fire, which nearly destroyed the town (77).

Archidamus eventually resigns himself to a long siege, for which a formidable surrounding-wall is constructed (78.1, described in detail 3.21).

Given Pericles' strategy of abandoning the Attic countryside (13.2n.), the town was doomed, and in the winter of 428/7 more than 200 of its defenders escaped (3.20-4). In 427 it capitulated and was destroyed (3.52-68), but was refounded with Spartan support c. 380.

On the siege see especially E. Kirsten, *RE* 40 (1950) 2272-80 (with earlier bibliography). For the techniques of assault described see the relevant sections (cited below) from Garlan, *Poliorcétique*. He concludes (128) that, while there is no reason to doubt T.'s accuracy, the value of his account is dramatic rather than technical.

**71.2 ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεῦσι κτλ.:** a famous oath to pursue the Persians and their sympathisers was allegedly taken before the battle of Plataea, but a promise of autonomy to Plataea itself after the victory is attested only in T. (3.63.3, 64.2-3, 68.1); see especially P. Siewart, *Der Eid von Plataia* (Vestigia 16, Munich 1972) 91-2.

Plataea's claim to represent Greek freedom made it an awkward target for the Spartans, self-proclaimed liberators of Greece (8.4n.).

**72.1 αὐτονομεῖσθε καὶ ... ξυνελευθεροῦτε:** i.e. keep your own government but join the Peloponnesians.

τοὺς ἄλλους ... ὅσοι ... ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν ... παρασκευὴ τε τοσσήδε ... γεγένηται αὐτῶν ἔνεκα: instead of another relative (ὅσων τε ἔνεκα ...), the sentence is continued with the unemphatic αὐτῶν (4.5n.).

εἰ δὲ μή 'otherwise', with no verb necessary, Sm. 2346d.

**72.2 μὴ ... οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν** 'lest they not permit it', i.e. retake the city.

ὡς ἔνορκοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι 'claiming that they were included in the oath about admitting both sides'. I.e. the Thebans would take advantage of this clause to take over the city.

**74.2** Before beginning the siege Archidamus publicly proclaims his justice in an unusual invocation (ἐπιθειάζειν 75.1) of the gods and heroes of the land; it resembles the Roman *ius fetiale*, Livy 1.32; Pritchett, *Greek state at war* III.322-3.

οὐτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως, ἐκλιπόντων δέ κτλ. 'not at all unjustly, but only after they broke their oath first ...'

Ξυγγνώμονες governs the infinitives; ἀδικίας depends on ὑπάρχουσι, while τιμωρίας depends on τυγχάνειν: 'ratify punishment for those who first began the crime, and the receipt of vengeance for those who inflict it lawfully'.

**75.1-4** The Spartans surround the city with a wooden palisade (περισταύρωσις), then begin work on a ramp (χῶμα) to surmount one section of the city wall. (On assault ramps see Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 142.)

**75.1** τοῦ μηδένα ἔτι ἐξιέναι expresses purpose (see on 22.1).

**75.2** παρωικοδόμουν ἑκατέρωθεν, φορμηδὸν ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες 'started to build a structure on both sides [of the ramp], by placing the wood in a latticework to serve as a reinforcement'.

**75.3** †ἐβδομήκοντα† cannot be correct; 70 days would be too long even for a whole campaign (40 days was the longest, 2.57.2), much less for work on a single ramp. But no certain correction has been offered, see *HCT* II.207-8, *Introd.* 31.

**75.4-76.4 Countermeasures of the Plataeans.** The resourceful defenders try to make the ramp ineffectual in a variety of ways: (1) They raise their own facing wall by constructing a tall wooden frame, fastening it to the top of the city wall, and filling it with bricks. (In A.D. 256, the Romans defended Dura-Europus against the Persians similarly; Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 146 n.3.) But the Peloponnesians simply build their ramp higher. (2) They make a small breach in their own wall, through which they begin to remove earth from the ramp. But the Peloponnesians drop into the breach masses of mud-brick, too hard to be broken up or carried away. (3) They tunnel into the ramp from below and remove its earth so that, to the enemy's puzzlement, it grows no higher. (Excavations at Palaepaphos in Cyprus show a Persian assault ramp in 498 to have been sapped in precisely this way; see Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 144.) (4) They stop trying to increase the height of the wall opposite the ramp (1 above), and begin to build a semicircular 'back-up' wall behind it.

ἧι προσεχοῦτο: passive, 'where the attack ramp was being built'.

**75.5** τοῦ μὴ ... ἀσθενὲς εἶναι: of purpose, as in 75.1.

μήτε ... βάλλεσθαι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε εἶναι: on μήτε/τε see *Introd.* 23; on the negative-positive restatement cf. 2.3n.

**75.6** διελόντες τοῦ τείχους ἥι προσέπιπτε τὸ χῶμα 'making a breach in the wall [cf. 5.2.4] where the ramp rested against it'.

**76.1** ἐν ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνίλλοντες 'packing mud into reed-mats', so that it would solidify and be unbreakable. As at Babylon (Hdt. 1.179.2), the reed casings are intended to keep out moisture which would soften the bricks.

**διαχεόμενον**: the subject ('the resulting reed-encased mud-brick') must be inferred from the beginning of the sentence, cf. 3.3n.

**76.2** καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι: an emphatic addition, separating ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα from the participle ὀρύξαντες to which it more directly belongs ('by digging a tunnel from the city ... underneath the ramp'; *hyperbaton*, *Introd.* 27-8).

The fact that they had to calculate where to dig does not mean that the ramp was at a substantial distance from the wall, but that 'it was a delicate operation' (*HCT* II.209).

**ἐπὶ πολὺ**: temporal (64.5n.).

**76.3** ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ 'on both sides of it'.

**ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχείος τείχους**: i.e. from the relatively 'low' city wall on both sides of the raised structure.

**ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ**: a neuter adjective formed into an abstract (*Introd.* 22), meaning 'exposure to being shot (βάλλεσθαι) on both sides'.

**76.4** μηχανάς: T.'s precision on Plataean defences does not extend to the Peloponnesian 'engines' (cf. 2.58.1), which must be an elaborate form of battering-ram (Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 137-40; *HCT* 1.354).

**τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος κατὰ τὸ χῶμα** depends on ἐπὶ μέγα (K-G 1.32; cf. 4.12.3 as quoted 8.4n.): 'struck down a great extent of the large structure opposite the ramp' (75.4 and 76.3 above).

**ὡς βρόχους ... περιβάλλοντες ἀνέκλων** 'which they pulled up by putting nooses around them', i.e. lassoed the fronts of the rams and pulled the noses up just before they were to hit the walls. The tactic was common in Near Eastern and later Mediterranean warfare, Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 137 n. 7.

**καὶ δοκοὺς ... ἀρτήσαντες κτλ.**: the construction continues independent of the relative (cf. 65.11). The description of this stratagem is especially detailed: (1) At various points along the city wall, the Plataeans mount pairs of outward-projecting poles (κεραῖαι, lit. 'antennae'), extending beyond the wall away from the city. (2) From each pair of poles they hang a large beam (δοκός) with long iron chains at both

ends, and raise this beam back to the top of the wall, to rest sideways ready to release. (3) Wherever an enemy ram is going to strike they release the beam and let the chains run out; the beam strikes off the iron tip of the ram.

ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἐκατέρωθεν 'from the cut on both sides' = 'on both ends' (of the beam).

ἐγκαρσίας: with δοκοῦς.

χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσι καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες: the dative and participle both indicate manner (Ros 168); for the negative-positive restatement cf. 13.1, 60.4.

τὸ προὔχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς 'the projecting end of the ram', perhaps an iron attachment such as that dedicated at Olympia, and illustrated in Garlan, *Poliorcétique* pl. 2, cf. 138.

**77.1** Before resigning themselves to a siege, the Peloponnesians attempt to burn the town, by throwing flammable material next to the wall and into the city, then setting it alight. On incendiary attacks in general see Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 140-1.

**77.2** σφίσιν ... προσαχθείη: dative of agent, 41.4n.

**77.3** καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως: dependent on (ὅσον) πλεῖστον, 'over as much of the rest of the city as they could reach from above [on the assault ramp]'.

**77.4** χειροποίητον is a qualification, explained by the parenthesis (with contrasting ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου).

τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτήν ... 'when it is rubbed by the winds against itself ...' Lucretius 1.897-900 (in connection with Anaxagoras) closely resembles this passage, and W. M. Calder III, 'A fragment of Anaxagoras in Thucydides?', *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 485-6 suggests that the parenthesis is an interpolation; it is not indeed an impressive observation, but it suits the context.

**77.5** τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς ... ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι 'the Plataeans came within an inch of perishing', Sm. 1399.

ἐντὸς ... πολλοῦ χωρίου κτλ. 'for it was impossible to reach a great part of the city' (because of the fire).

**77.6** ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: i.e. rain (5.2n.). λέγεται implies that T. does not himself vouch for the story (18.5n.).

**78 The siege begins.** A more detailed description of the περιτείχισμα is given 3.21, see Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 107-8, 113-14.

ἐξ ἧς ἐπλίνθουσάντο: bricks were the primary material of such walls (Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 149).

78.3 πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν: 2.6.4.

79 Athens tries to follow up the fall of Potidaea (70) with further conquests at Spartolus (for the persistence of Athens' efforts in this region see 95.2n.; Danov, *Altthrakien* 148-9); but the expedition ends in a complete defeat. (1) The Athenians defeat the hoplites of Chalcidice (who retreat to Spartolus), but are themselves turned back by their cavalry, light-armed troops and peltasts from Crousis; they withdraw to their camp. (2) More peltasts arrive from Olynthus, and the new larger group attacks once again, reaching the Athenian camp itself before they are resisted. (3) Harassed by the cavalry, especially, the Athenians flee to Potidaea.

79.1 τρίτος αὐτός: 13.1n.

79.2 προσχωρήσειν ... ὑπό τινων ἔνδοθεν πρᾶσσόντων 'would be surrendered by some agents inside it'.

79.4 πελταστάς: Thracian light-armed troops named for their small round shield (πέλτη, Hdt. 7.75).

Κρουσίδος γῆς: for the region see Hammond, *Macedonia* 1.186-90.

79.5 τοῖς τε προσγιγνομένοις καὶ ὅτι κτλ.: both are causal (*variatio*): 'because of the additional troops and since they had been victorious earlier'.

79.6 ὁπότε μὲν ἐπίοιεν ... ἀποχωροῦσι δ': the dative participle is temporal also (cf. 54.4n.): 'whenever they attacked ... when they went away'.

ἦι δοκοίη προσέβαλλον 'kept attacking them wherever they thought best'.

οὐχ ἡκιστα φοβήσαντες: *litotes* (Intro. 27).

## 80-92 *The Peloponnesian expedition to Acarnania*

Angered at Athens for aiding its neighbours, Ambracia offers to the Peloponnesians a seemingly foolproof plan for new conquests in north-west Greece. But the resulting land army, swollen by local Greeks and barbarians, fails to capture its first objective because of poor discipline; the Peloponnesian fleet, meanwhile, is twice prevented from even reaching the area by Phormio's handful of ships at Naupactus.

The entire episode allows Thucydides to demonstrate not only the



extension of the war to the most distant areas of Greece and even non-Greek tribes (Introd. 18), but also the vast superiority of Athenian skill in the first direct naval engagement, and the role of luck (τύχη) which, when properly exploited, can contribute as decisively as skill to victory (see Edmunds, *Chance and intelligence* 97-9).

The whole affair is especially humiliating for Corinth: with supreme confidence (1.121.4) she sponsored the expedition (2.80.3) and led its navy (2.83.4n.); but her commanders are charged with cowardice, and replaced by Spartans (2.85.1-2). For Corinth's vain struggle to assert herself during this period see J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth* (Oxford 1984) 308-11.

On the narrative see de Romilly, *Histoire et raison* 140-50; F. Solmsen, *Intellectual experiments of the Greek enlightenment* (Princeton 1975) 175-9; and in general Kagan, *Archidamian war* 101-15. For the regional politics see Hammond, *Epirus* 496-507; for the naval tactics, Morrison and Coates, *The Athenian trireme* 68-76.

#### 80-2 Cnemus in Acarnania

**80.1 Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες:** for the background see 68.9 and Hammond, *Epirus* 500-2.

**λέγοντες ὅτι, ἦν ... ἔλθωσιν, ... ῥαιδίως ἂν ... κρατήσουσι, καὶ ... ἔσοιτο:** the sentence offers a remarkable series of changes in construction, beginning as a future more vivid condition (ἦν ... ἔλθωσιν), then shifting to future less vivid (ῥαιδίως ἂν ..., which one expects to be followed by optative), then back to future more vivid (κρατήσουσι ... καὶ ... ἔσοιτο, both representing future indicative after ὅτι). For similar shifts which combine ἂν with future indicative see Riddell, *Digest* 139 §58, and the passages listed (although incorrectly interpreted) in K-G 1.209.

**ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ξυμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων** 'since the Acarnanians were unable to send aid from the coast'. Despite its position, the prepositional phrase cannot be attributive of 'the inland Acarnanians' (for this meaning of ἀπὸ compare e.g. 97.2); since it refers to the *sending* of troops inland (81.1, 83.1), it must go with the verb. For similar hyperbaton cf. 1.8.1 (οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, 'for the criminals [Phoenician and Carian pirates] were expelled by him [Minos] from the islands') and Classen-Steup ad loc.

**ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι** shifts to accusative + infinitive after **ὅτι** above (Sm. 2628). For Zacynthus, Cephallenia and Naupactus see 9.4n.

**80.3 ἦσαν ... ξυμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα** 'were especially eager in support'; for the periphrasis with the participle see K-G 1.39, and cf. on **ἀρκοῦν ... εἶναι** 35.1.

**80.4 ἐπεραιώθησαν**: the precise route is unspecified, but Cnemus' troops somehow reached Leucas from the Peloponnese, eluding Phormio's guard at Naupactus (69.1).

**80.5 βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες κτλ.**: on the tribes mentioned see Hammond, *Epirus* 500-2.

**Φώτυος**: on the spelling see Hammond, *Epirus* 501 n. 1; Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* III (Berlin 1969) 389 n. 2.

**80.6 θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως**: Tharyps was king only of the Molossians (Hammond, *Epirus* 501).

**80.7 Περδίκκας κρίφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων**: he had made a treaty with Athens in 431 (29.6).

**ὕστερον** 'too late' (as in 5.3).

**80.8 Λιμναίαν**: for the site see Hammond, *Epirus* 246-7, and for Cnemus' route see Map 3.

**ραιδίως ἂν ... προσχωρήσειν**: for **ἂν** with the future see 80.1n., and Ros 386 n. 47.

**81.1 οὔτε ξυνεβοήθουν, ἐφύλασσόν τε ... παρά τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον** 'refrained from sending aid [to Stratos], but protected ... and sent to Phormio ...' For **οὔτε/τε/τε** see Introd. 23; for the imperfects, Introd. 22.

**81.2 τρία τέλη** 'three divisions'.

**ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι** 'after setting up a camp nearby ...' This is the part of the plan which the Chaonians spoil (81.4 below).

**εἰ μὴ λόγοις πείθοιεν, ἔργῳ πειρῶντο**: a forced contrast; cf. 40.1n., and Denniston, *Greek prose style* 13.

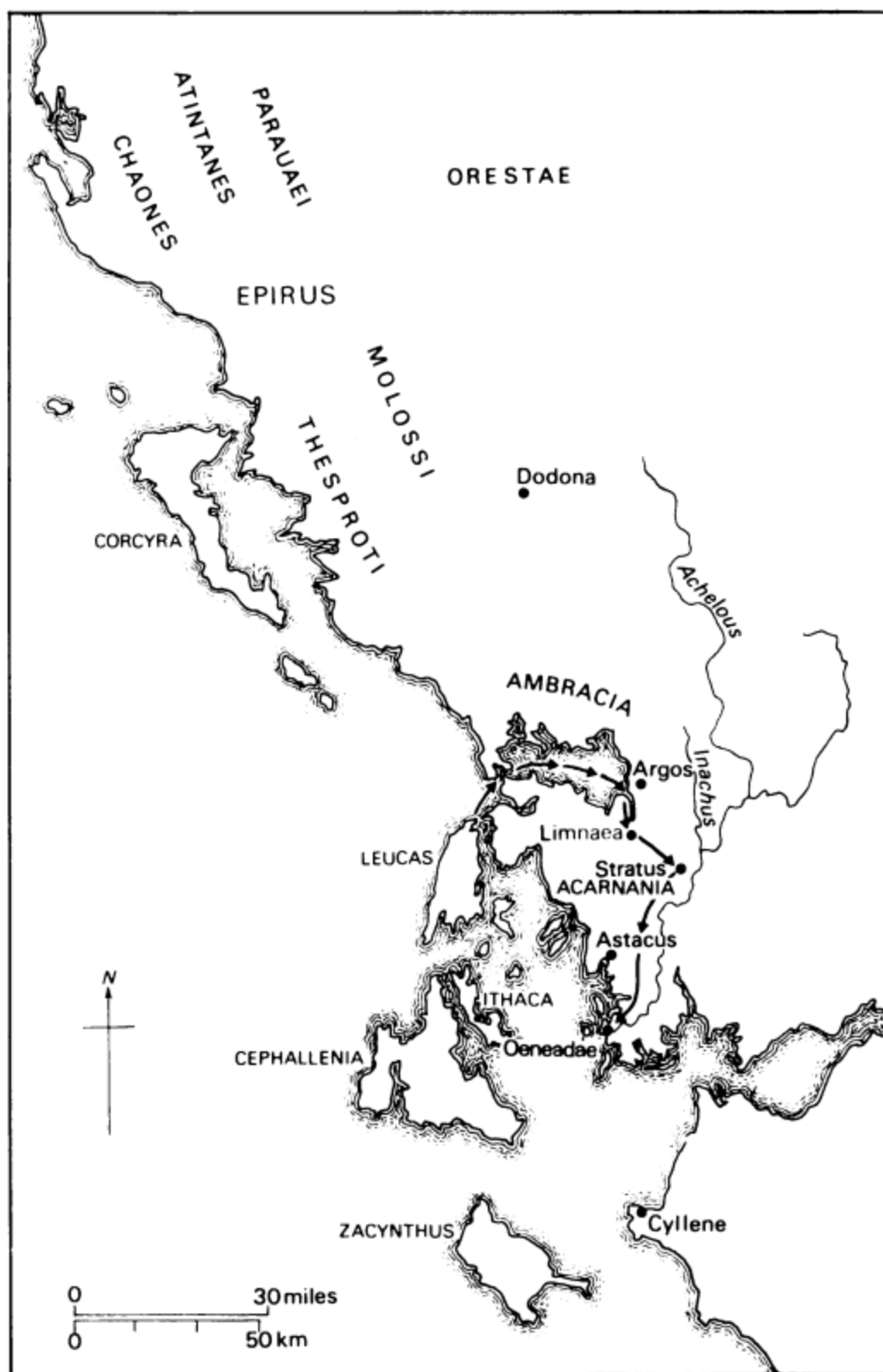
**81.3 ἔστιν ὅτε** 'sometimes' (35.2n.).

**81.4 διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες**: 37.2n.

**ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ**: sc. χώρῳ (as 6.64.1, cf. 20.4).

**τῶν ἐκείνηι ἡπειρωτῶν** 'the mainland [as opposed to island] peoples in that region' (cf. 1.47.3 οἱ ... ταύτηι ἡπειρῶται); eventually ἡπειρος came to be used as the proper name for the whole area (Hammond, *Epirus* 506).

**ἀξιούμενοι**: passive.



Map 3. Cnemus in Acarnania, summer 429 B.C. (Thuc. 2.80-2)

**οὔτε ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν** 'they had no intention of occupying the camp' (i.e. the planned (81.2) camp near Stratos). For this meaning of ἐπέσχον (sc. τὸν νοῦν) with infinitive cf. Hdt. 1.80.4, 153.4, 6.96. Throughout this section στρατόπεδον usually = 'army', but here and in 81.7 below (cf. 6.64.1-2, 65.3) στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν = 'occupy [ground for] a camp'. Since the plans for this camp have already been made (81.2n.) the article is just as natural here as in 6.65.3.

**χωρήσαντές τε ῥύμηι ... ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεῖ ἂν ... ἐλεῖν: οὔτε/τε** again (as 81.1 above), the participle being conditional: 'but they thought that if they travelled in a rush [without encamping first, as planned in 81.2] they would take the city without a struggle [lit. 'by merely shouting'], and that the achievement would be theirs'.

**81.5 γνόντες δ' αὐτοὺς ... ἔτι προσιόντας** 'realising that they were still advancing' (after reaching the vicinity).

**προλογίζουσι δὴ:** the particle emphasises the action which begins the expedition's downfall (*GP* 214).

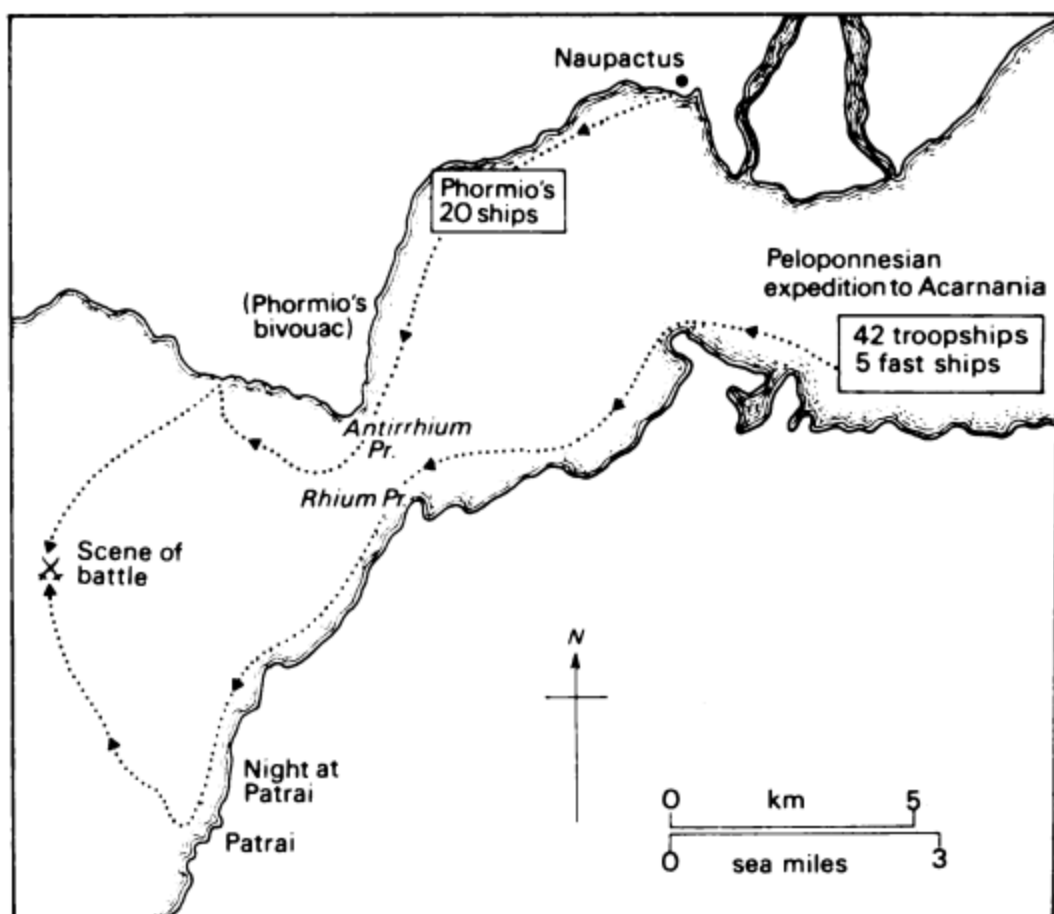
**81.6 ἐς φόβον καταστάντων:** as often in genitives absolute (5.5n.), the subject is unspecified (it cannot be the Chaonians, who alone of the barbarians were *not* afraid). Here and in 3.82.8 (ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων) the participle may be impersonal neuter, cf. 4.20.2 ἔτι δ' ὄντων ἀκρίτων ('since no judgements had yet been made'), Soph. *El.* 1344 τελουμένων ('when our plan nears completion').

**81.7 διὰ τὸ ... προελθεῖν ... καὶ ... οἰηθῆναι:** the subject changes: 'since they (the barbarians) had gone far ahead, and they (the Greeks) thought that they were advancing to occupy a camp'. (For στρατόπεδον ... καταληφομένους see 81.4n.)

**81.8 ξυναγαγόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα:** i.e. reuniting the three divisions of 81.2.

**ἐς χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἰόντων ... ἄπωθεν δὲ σφενδονώντων:** the long genitive absolute includes an explanatory parenthesis: '[Cnemus' force did not move from the spot during the day] since the Stratians, although not attacking them because the rest of the Acarnanians had not yet sent aid [81.1], nevertheless used slings from a distance and made them helpless – for it was impossible [for Cnemus' force] to move about without armour, and the Acarnanians are reputed to excel at doing this [slinging].'

**τοῦτο ποιεῖν:** cf. τοῦτο ... ἔδρασαν, 49.5n.



Map 4. Phormio's first victory, summer 429 B.C. (Thuc. 2.83-4)

**82.1** ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστοι: but not Cnemus, who returned to Leucas (84.5).

*83-4 Phormio's first victory*

For the movements leading up to the engagement see Map 4.

**83.1** οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες: the preposition and adverb ('inland from the coast') go with ξυμβοηθῶσιν (80.1n.).

**83.2** βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι: Phormio desires the greatest possible area for his attack so that his faster ships can be used to advantage; see 89.8n.

**83.3** οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι κτλ.: it slowly dawns on the Corinthians that the enemy's behaviour is not what they expected, and that they have no choice but to fight (ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν below ~ ἡναγκά-

σθησαν ... ναυμαχῆσαι 83.1; the word order is regularised below to clarify the structure):

ἔπλεον μὲν

στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι

καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἴομενοι ... τολμῆσαι

ἐπειδὴ μέντοι

ἑώρων (τε)

ἀντιπαραπλέοντας ... παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κοιζομένων

καὶ κατεῖδον

προσπλέοντας ... πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρασ ἡπειρον διαβαλ-  
λόντων

καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ἀφορμισάμενοι

οὕτω δὲ ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν ...

'The Corinthians and their allies set sail for Acarnania not set up for fighting at sea but more like an army, and with the idea that the Athenians, with 20 ships, would not dare to engage against their own 47. But by the time they had observed that, as long as they themselves were travelling along the shore, the Athenians sailed along the opposite one; and noticed that, when they started crossing to the mainland opposite from Patrai in Achaia towards Acarnania, the Athenians sailed to attack them from Chalcis and the Euenus river; and were unable to slip past them even when they set sail at night; *by that time* they were trapped into a battle in the middle of their crossing.'

For other such structural elaboration in T. see Introd. 25. For the route see Map 4.

οὐχ ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι: negative-positive contrast, the comparative standing for μάλλον (Introd.24). For the wider decks and rounder hulls of troop carriers see Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 154-6, 225; cf. 86.1 below.

ἐς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν: with ἔπλεον (*hyperbaton*).

οὐκ ἂν οἴομενοι κτλ.: ἂν goes with τολμῆσαι.

εἴκοσι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν: dative of military accompaniment, 7.2n.

ἐπειδὴ μέντοι responds to ἔπλεον μὲν above, cf. 56.4n.

παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κοιζομένων ... πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρασ ἡπειρον διαβαλλόντων: the genitives absolute refer to the Peloponnesians,

even though they are the subjects (cf. 5.5n.; Riddell, *Digest* §274; Ros 244).

ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαιίας ... ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ: specified in order to locate the battle roughly between these two points.

οὕτω δὴ: cf. 12.4n.

**83.4** Μαχάων καὶ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδας: T. gives only the Corinthian commanders not because these were the only names he knew (*HCT* II.94), but because Corinth dominated the fleet ('Corinthians and allies' 83.1, 3 above).

**83.5** κύκλον ... ὥς μέγιστον οἰοί τ' ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν 'as big a circle as they could without leaving [the enemy] space to sail through'. The circular formation was the best available for the circumstances, and had worked for the Greeks at the battle of Artemisium (Hdt. 8.11.1; Kagan, *Archidamian war* 109; Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 53–4, 71). It aimed at luring an opponent to surround it, after which the encircled ships burst out to ram the enemy amidships; but Phormio's fleet sails so close that it breaks up the formation, and his knowledge of local winds gives him the perfect moment of attack.

λεπτὰ πλοῖα 'small craft'.

ὅπως ἐκπλέοιεν διὰ βραχείος παραγιγνόμενοι κτλ. 'so that, standing by [παραγίγεσθαι as in 6.67.1] only a short distance away [διὰ βραχείος, 29.3n.], they could sail out [of the circle] if the enemy made an attack anywhere'. Keeping these in reserve *inside* the circle was 'a curious failure to understand the proper use of "fast" ships in battle' (Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 71).

**84.1** κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι 'arranged in single file'.

ἐν χρώϊ: usually with κείρειν or ξυρεῖν, 'shaving them to the skin' (LSJ s.v. χρώς 1.2), here with παραπλέοντες, 'sailing right next to them'.

ἐμβαλεῖν is future infinitive.

**84.2** ἤλπιζε 'expected' (64.1n.)

τὰ πλοῖα ταραχὴν παρέξειν: the small craft inside the circle (83.5) will have been unskilled in naval formations.

ἐκπνεύσειεν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα: for the alternating east and west winds in the gulf of Patras see E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos* 1 (Gotha 1851) 403–4, 420 n. 2.

ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι: the relative is



the object of the participle (cf. 39.1n.), then (without being repeated, Sm. 2518; K-G II.432) the subject of εἰώθει.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω 'during the morning' if the preposition is correct (ὑπὸ Krüger, cf. K-G I.504). It was now just before dawn, the Peloponnesians having left shore at night (83.3).

τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶι ... εἶναι ὁπόταν βούληται 'that the initiative was his to take whenever he wished' (τῶν ... πλεουσῶν is causal).

γίγνεσθαι: the future would have been expected, but cf. 1.93.3 and Classen-Steup ad loc.

84.3 Ὡς δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα κατήκει κτλ.: the long temporal clause leading to Phormio's signal offers a maze of conjunctions (8 examples of τε, 6 of καί), but it is essentially divided into two sections by τε/τε (describing the ships' behaviour in the wind, then that of their crews), with unrelated καί used in between (cf. the threefold τε in 40.1-2, and Introd. 23):

ὥς

1. τό τε πνεῦμα κατήκει

A. καὶ αἱ νῆες ... ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ... ἑταράσσοντο

1. τοῦ τε ἀνέμου

2. τῶν τε πλοίων

B. καὶ

1. ναῦς τε νηὶ προσέπιπτε

2. καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διεωθοῦντο

2. βοῇ τε χρώμενοι ... οὐδὲν κατήκουον

1. οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων

2. οὔτε τῶν κελευστῶν

A. καὶ ... ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρείχον

τότε δὴ ... σημαίνει κτλ.

ἢ χωρήσειαν: iterative, 'wherever they went'.

κατέστησαν + acc. and infin. = 'brought it about that ...' (K-G II.11).

ἐς ἀλκὴν ... τρέπεσθαι 'began to fight' (40.2, 51.4nn.).

84.4 ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι: cf. Paus. 10.11.5.

85-86.5 Preparations for a second engagement

85.2 ἄλλως τε καί: 3.1n.

πειρασαμένοις: causal.

ὁ παράλογος: 61.3n.

οὐ τοσούτῳ ... λείπεσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δὲ ... μαλακίαν 'that the fleet had not been so inferior, but that there had been cowardice'.

ἐκ πολλοῦ ... δι' ὀλίγου 'longstanding ... recent'.

ὀργῇ οὖν ἀπέστελλον: dative of manner (40.5, 47.4nn.); for the imperfect = aorist with a verb of sending see *Introd.* 22.

85.3 ναῦς τε προσπεριήγγειλαν κατὰ πόλεις 'sent around to cities for additional (πρόσ-) ships'.

85.4 πέμπει ... ἀγγελοῦντας καὶ ... φράσσοντας, καὶ κελεύων: parallel participles in different cases (*variatio*, Ros 253; cf. 59.2n.).

85.5 τῷ δὲ κομίζονται: for some reason T. omits the name of the commander of this relief force, who is mentioned again in ὁ μὲν λαβὼν below.

Νικίας ... Κρής Γορτύνιος πρόξενος ὢν: W. R. Connor has suggested that this may be a corrupt reference to the Athenian general Nicias son of Niceratus, who would then have been the commander of the 20 ships. It is indeed puzzling that an Athenian proxenos from Gortyn in Crete is named, while the ships' commander is not; but for Nicias the Athenian to be introduced here so insignificantly would be even more so. For bibliography see Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton 1984) 77 n. 62.

προσποιήσιν: 2.2n.

86.1 παρεσκευασμένοι ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν: as they were not in 83.3.

86.4 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδον: sc. ὁρμίσαντας, 11.8n.

86.5 γνώμην 'plan', 38.1n.

πρὸς ἐκείνων 'in their favour' (LSJ s.v. πρὸς A.III.2).

#### 86.6 89 *Speeches of the commanders*

On paired commanders' speeches in T. see the introductory n. to chapters 10–13. As often, the speeches respond to each other, and hint at important features (especially the role of τύχη) in the battle to follow. See de Romilly, *Histoire et raison* 140–50 and Luschkat, *Feldherrnreden* 21–32.

87 The Spartan commanders argue that the previous defeat was based on poor preparation, bad luck, and inexperience; the first has been remedied, and the other two can be overcome by bravery. They close with the promise (87.9) that they will improve on the tactics of their Corinthian predecessors.

One of these excuses – τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης – did *not* play a role in their first defeat, but *will* do so in their second one (91.3n.).

**87.1** Ἡ μὲν γενομένη ναυμαχία ... εἴ τις ... δι' αὐτὴν ... φοβεῖται ... οὐχὶ δίκαιαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι: it seems that the word placed first for emphasis (ναυμαχία) is lost sight of after the conditional clause (62.1n.), and the articular infinitive takes over as subject of ἔχει τέκμαρσιν (for which cf. τὸ ... λυποῦν ἔχει ... τὴν αἴσθησιν, 61.2n.): 'as for the battle behind us – if anyone fears the one to come on its account, its frightfulness does not have any correct basis in logic' (i.e. it ought not to frighten you). Usually τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι is taken as accusative, which would produce no sense (ἔχει already has an object in τέκμαρσιν) and would have to be emended.

**87.2** ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης κτλ. 'and it turned out that the important element of luck was against us'.

καὶ πού τι καί: 17.1n.

**87.3** οὐδὲ δίκαιον κτλ: the attempt to show that inexperience should not produce fear is elaborated with negative-positive contrasts (Introd. 24): 'nor is it right that resolution – when it is not utterly defeated, but still has the power to make some response – should be dulled by the outcome of the event, but [it is *rather* right] to realise that men may fail through chance, yet it is by their resolve that the same men remain truly brave, and would not rightly turn into cowards on any occasion by claiming inexperience, when courage is present'.

τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν: see Introd. 23. (κατὰ κράτος = 'in an all-out fight', cf. 54.4, 68.7, 100.3).

τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ: cf. 36.1.

**87.4** ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα ... ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας: the nouns are virtually synonyms (as are ἐπιστήμη and τέχνη), cf. 62.3n.

**87.5** πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν κτλ. 'you must counter their superior experience with your greater courage, and your anxiety at your defeat with [the knowledge that] you chanced to be ill-prepared [and are not now]'.

**87.6** τὰ ... πολλά 'usually', 11.3n.

κράτος 'victory'.

**87.8** τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν 'personally', 11.3n.

**87.9** κολασθήσεται τῇ πρεπούσῃ ζημίαι: 39.4n.

**88–9** Unlike the Spartans, Phormio needs only to restore the confidence that his troops already possess (88.2): the Spartans' huge force

(he argues) shows their fear, and their courage is based solely on prior successes – which occurred on land (89.2); finally, the Athenian willingness to stand up against huge odds troubles their enemy even more (89.4–7).

He also (89.8) promises to obtain the best tactical position he can (as do the Spartans in 87.9), in this case the open water outside the gulf of Corinth; but this is a promise he cannot keep (90.3).

**88.1** κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι ‘when they gathered among themselves’ (informally).

**88.2** προπαρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας ὥς ... ‘and instilled in them confidence that ...’

οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος νεῶν τοσοῦτον, ἣν ἐπιπλήηι, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον ἐστι: the proper word order would be οὐδὲν πλῆθος νεῶν τοσοῦτον, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἣν ἐπιπλήηι. For result clauses with forms of ὅστις see Sm. 2556.

τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην ‘this conviction’, explained by the following accusative and infinitive.

**89.1** ἐν ὁρρωδίαι ἔχειν: 37.2n.

**89.2** πρῶτον μέν: answered by ἔπειτα below.

τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ‘more ships, and disproportionately’ says the same thing positively and negatively with a variation, cf. 41.4 μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ ... ἀμάρτυρον; Ros 146. (For ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, see 42.3n.)

ὡς μάλιστα πιστεύοντες ... ὥς προσῆκον κτλ. ‘[as to the fact] on which they especially rely, that [it is] proper to them to be courageous ...’

οὐ δι’ ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ... ἐμπειρίαν ... κατορθοῦντες: the first preposition is parallel not to the second, but to the causal participle: ‘they are confident for no reason other than because they usually succeed, owing to their skill in infantry’.

ποιήσιν τὸ αὐτό: 8.4n.

**89.3** τὸ δ’: i.e. τὸ κατορθοῦν. (νῦν = ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ.)

ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ‘properly’ (42.3n.).

ἐν ἐκείνῳ = ἐν πεζῷ.

ἐπεὶ εὐψυχίαι γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ κτλ.: a negative–positive contrast, assuming (without argument) that *neither* side can claim superior bravery: ‘since they are in no way superior in courage, but [rather] ...’

τῷ δὲ ἐκάτεροί τι εἶναι ἐμπειρότεροι: articular infinitive, dative of degree of difference with θρασύτεροι: 'to the extent that each of us is more experienced in something [we in ships, they in infantry], we are bolder' (since we are to fight at sea).

**89.4** Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε κτλ.: τε introduces the last item in the series πρῶτον μὲν / ἔπειτα (cf. 8.1n.), where ἄκοντας is emphatic: 'for although the Spartans are in command of them because of their own reputation, they are leading most [of their allies] into battle *against their wills*; for after being defeated decisively, they would never have undertaken to fight again [except by constraint]'.

διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν explains ἡγούμενοι better than προσάγουσι ('to save their reputations', as de Romilly takes it; but it was the *Corinthians* (87.9) who failed last time).

παρὰ πολὺ 'by a wide margin', cf. 8.4, 89.5 below.

**89.5** πλείω φόβον ... καὶ πιστότερον 'a fear that is greater, and more justified'.

κατὰ τε τὸ προνομικῆκεναι καὶ ὅτι κτλ.: both preposition and conjunction are causal (*variatio*).

οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦνται ... ἀνθίστασθαι κτλ. 'they think that you would not be opposing them unless you intended to achieve something to offset their great advantage [in ships]'. τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ is usually marked corrupt or emended, but is explained below (especially 89.6 ἐκ πολλῶι ὑποδέεσσεσθαι) as the wide margin of Spartan numerical superiority. An alternative is to take it as recalling briefly ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ just above, so that ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ = 'worthy of the wide margin [of their last defeat]'.

**89.6** ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ κτλ. 'for most of their enemies go into a fight relying on strength rather than state of mind; but some, despite a far inferior base of support, and of their own free will, stand up to the challenge because their greatest virtue is an unshakeable resolve'.

οἱ πλείους ... οἱ δέ: limiting apposition to ἀντίπαλοι (9.2n.).

τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον: Introd. 23. διάνοια is a synonym for γνώμη above (87.4n.). μέγα τι is predicative, cf. 62.3n.

τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλεόν ... ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ 'more because of our inscrutability ... than because of our sensible preparation'. I.e. our illogical willingness to fight frightens them more than if we had prepared a large counter-force. On παρασκευή see 9.1n.

**89.7** ἔστι ... ἃ 'some', 35.2n.

**89.8** ἐκὼν εἶναι ‘if I can help it’; the infinitive is untranslatable, Sm. 2012c.

ἡ στενοχωρία οὐ ξυμφέρει: the battle of Salamis was fought in the narrows partly for this reason (Hdt. 8.60.α), the Greek fleet being slower than the Persian (although not more numerous); Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 73–4.

ὡς χρή ἐς ἐμβολήν ... ἐν δέοντι πιεζόμενος ‘as is necessary for ramming ... as required when in trouble’.

διέκπλοι ... ἀναστροφαί ‘breakthroughs ... sudden turns’. On the former manœuvres see Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 43.

**89.9** παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες: i.e. when standing by the beached ships before battle (Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 73 n. 10), contrasted with ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ‘when in battle’.

περὶ πλείστου ‘most important’, LSJ s.v. περί A.IV.

δ ... ξυμφέρει: combining κόσμος (11.9n.) and σιγή (see Morrison and Coates, *Trireme*, index s.v. ‘silence’) as a single quality.

**89.10** ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν: 45.1n.

ἢ καταλῦσαι ... ἢ ἐγγυτέρω καταστῆσαι ‘either to extinguish Sparta’s hope ... or bring closer to Athens the fear ...’

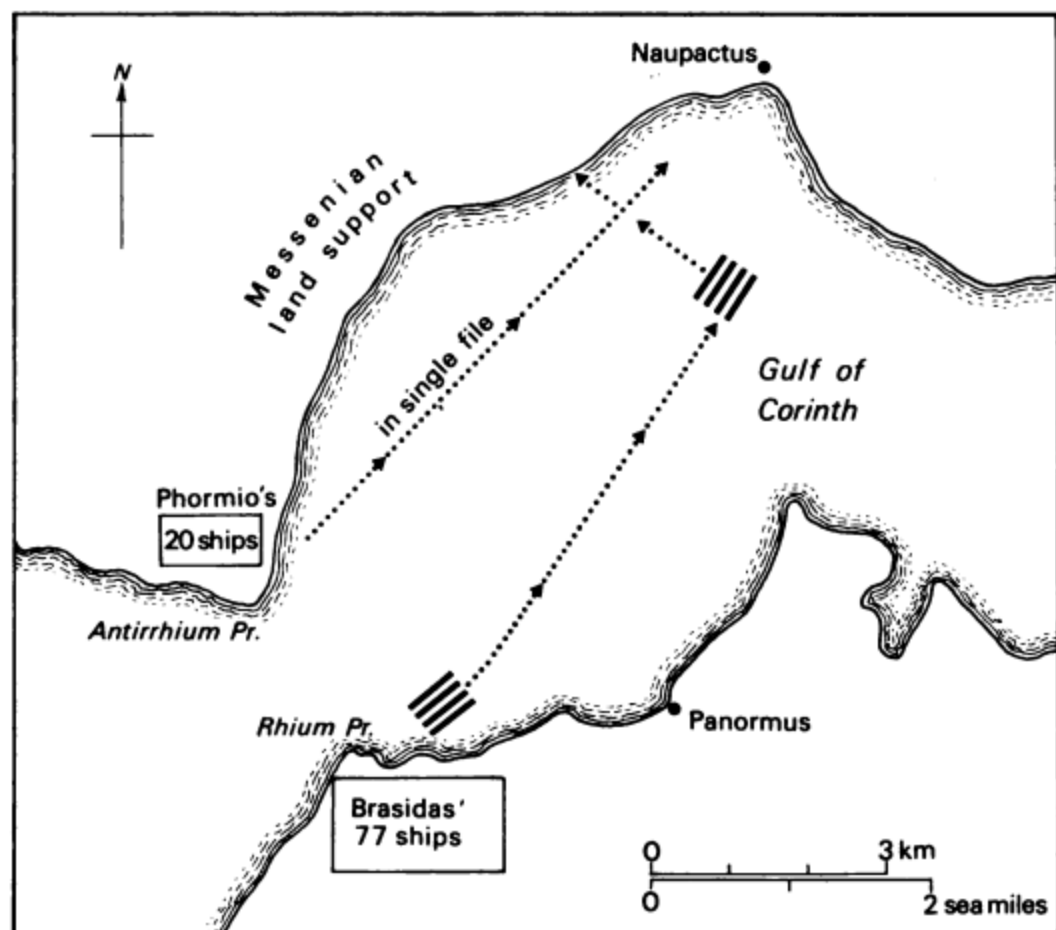
**89.11** ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν κτλ. ‘once they have been defeated, men’s resolves are not accustomed [οὐκ ἐθέλουσι, LSJ s.v. II.2] to be the same [as before] toward the same dangers’.

#### 90–2 *Phormio’s second victory*

The Peloponnesians pretend to attack Naupactus to lure Phormio into the gulf, then execute a sudden turn within formation to attack the surprised Athenian fleet itself (90.1–4). They trap and disable nine of the Athenian ships (91.5–6). But they fail to catch the other eleven, and furthermore their fastest ship is rammed and sunk, which leaves them confused and inattentive (91). The Athenians seize this moment to attack, rout the enemy, and recover most of their captured ships (92).

Despite the failure of Phormio’s plan to stay outside the gulf, a lucky stroke by a single ship allows the Athenians to recover. For the first part of the battle see Map 5.

**90.1** ἐπλεον κτλ. ‘they started sailing into the gulf [eastward] along their own shore, having arranged their ships four abreast, just as they



Map 5. Phormio's second victory, summer 429 B.C. (Thuc. 2.90-2)

had been at anchor, with the right wing [relative to the enemy] leading the way'. I.e. each ship made a right turn *within* formation, so that the fastest ships were now in front instead of on the right side. See *HCT* II.228-9, Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 75. (The clauses are interlaced (Introd. 28), the logical order being ἐπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὠρμουν, δεξιῶι κέραι ἡγουμένωι.)

**90.2** μὴ διαφύγοιεν πλείοντες τὸν ἐπίπλουν σφῶν ... ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως: interlacing word order again: 'could not escape their attack by sailing ahead of the wing [as it turned to attack them]'. But in fact this is exactly what happens, 90.5 below.

**90.3** ὁ πεζὸς ... τῶν Μεσσηνίων: supporting troops from the settlers at Naupactus (9.4n.) had not been mentioned before.



**90.4** κατὰ μίαν 'in single file' (84.1n.)

ἐπὶ κέρως (lit. 'towards the wing') = 'line ahead', while μετωπηδόν (lit. 'towards the front') = 'line abreast'.

**ἄφνω ἐπιστρέψαντες κτλ.:** the instantaneous change of direction was accomplished by each ship *within* formation swinging its bow back to face the enemy again (μετωπηδόν). Such a movement obviously had to be carefully rehearsed, and the signal for it (ἄπὸ σημείου ἑνός) needed to be visual rather than vocal.

**ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος:** for the construction see Sm. 1441. Since they made no attempt to stay in formation, the faster right wing would reach the enemy first (90.2).

**90.5** τὸ κέρας ... καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν 'escaped the [right] wing *when it turned*', hendiadys (Sm. 3025).

ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν 'into open water' here can only mean 'away from the shore'. But Gomme notes (*HCT* II.231) that it is careless of T. to use the word he employs otherwise (83.2, 86.5, 91.1) only for the waters entirely *outside* the gulf.

**ἐξέωσάν τε κτλ.** 'as they tried to escape, they forced them against the shore and destroyed them'.

**90.6** αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν 'with crew and all', Sm. 1525.

ἐλκομένας ἤδη 'as they were already being dragged away'.

**91.1** Ταύτηι 'in this area', contrasted with what was happening simultaneously near Naupactus.

**σχοῦσαι ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον** 'lining up [lit. 'staying still'] near the temple of Apollo, with bows facing the enemy'. (The temple's location is unknown.)

**ἀμυνόμενοι:** here and in 91.4 below T. uses feminine and masculine alike of ships and their crews.

**91.3** ἔτυχε ... ὁρμούσα: the verb is emphatic in initial position: the presence of the merchantman which makes possible the following manœuvre is an act of τύχη.

**μετέωρος:** i.e. in open water, in the middle of the battle zone.

**περὶ ἣν ... φθάσασα καὶ περιπλεύσασα** 'which having reached first and sailed around ...', the preposition being chosen to suit the second participle.

**ἐμβάλλει μέσῃ** 'rams amidships'.

**91.4** αἱ μὲν τινες: 4.4n.

καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ 'dropping their oars [on the gender see 91.1n.], they stopped sailing'. For the genitive cf. 3.59.3 λόγου τελευτᾶν, Sm. 1392.

ἄξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεφόρμησιν 'acting mistakenly in relation to the opposing force nearby'.

βουλόμενοι ... περιμεῖναι 'because they wanted to wait for more ships [to reinforce them]'. The participle explains ἐπέστησαν, but is separated from it by the emphatic ἄξύμφορον δρῶντες (*hyperbaton*).

αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς βραχέα ἀπειρίαι χωρίων ὤκειλαν 'some even went aground into shallows, because of their ignorance of the area'.

92.1 ἀπὸ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος: i.e. in concert after an audible command (from voice or flute, cf. 90.4n.).

ἐμβοήσαντες: with ὤρμησαν, 'shouting as they did so', because there was no time to sing a paean, Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 76 n. 15.

92.2 ὃς ἐκεῖνοι ... ἀνεδήσαντο: 90.6.

92.3 ἐξέπεσεν: i.e. his body washed ashore.

92.5 τῆς τροπῆς 'victory' (cf. 19.2), dependent on τροπαῖον.

ὃς ... διέφθειραν ναῦς = νεῶν ὃς διέφθειραν, dependent on τροπῆς. (The antecedent is incorporated into the clause with the relative and attracted into its case, Sm. 2537.)

92.7 οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης Ἀθηναῖοι: 85.5-6.

#### 93-4 *The Peloponnesian attempt on Piraeus*

After their second humiliating defeat, the Spartan generals attempt to recoup with a completely unexpected attack against the Piraeus in winter. Crews are transferred from the Corinthian gulf to new ships at Nisaea (this was easier than dragging the ships across the haulway (δίολκος) at the Isthmus) and the ships are launched; but they proceed no farther than Salamis, and retreat at the first sign of Athenian opposition. T.'s open criticism (94.1) of the Spartans' caution pronounces the expedition a failure; not only do they fail to execute an ingenious plan, but they also alert the Athenians to a weakness in their defences.

93.1 ἐς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρῖσαῖον κόλπον: the places are named in reverse order (cf. 92.6), for which Spratt (see *Intro.* 27 n. 85) xxxv compares 6.72.1, 8.88; cf. 12.2n.

**93.2** ἐδόκει 'it was decided that ...'

λαβόντα ... ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον καὶ τὸν τροπωτήρα 'each with his own oar, cushion and oarloop'. For the deductions that can be drawn from this valuable information about the oarsmen's personal gear see Morrison and Coates, *Trireme* 136.

**93.3** οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν ... οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία κτλ: the reasoning described is contorted and the grammar elliptic, but Gomme (*HCT* II.238-9) has rightly suggested that this sentence is not corrupt. The structure (words to be supplied are in parentheses) is:

οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσειν  
 οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἂν ... ἐπιπλεύσειαν  
 ἐπεὶ (ἐνόμισαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ...  
 οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν  
 οὐδ', εἰ διεννοῦντο, (προσδοκίαν εἶναι) μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθ-  
 ἔσθαι.

'For on the one hand there were no ships at all on guard in it, and on the other hand there was no expectation [among the Athenians] that the enemy would ever attack so suddenly, since [the Athenians thought] they would not dare [to attack] openly even with considerable time for preparation, nor, if they intended [to attack], was there any expectation that they would not be perceived.'

The Athenians' reasoning is as follows: (1) If the enemy plans to attack the Piraeus, we will know about it far in advance (προαισθῆσθαι, since they must gather and approach from Corinth). (2) Since any attack must come with prior warning (ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς), they would not dare it even with considerable time to prepare (καθ' ἡσυχίαν). (3) Therefore *any* attack is unlikely, and even if there *is* one, we will have time to post defences. (4) Therefore we can leave the Piraeus without permanent defences.

Thucydides reverses the order of the reasoning, since he begins with their conclusion. Omitted in their calculations is the Spartans' current plan: an attack from an unexpected port, with crews that were thought to be busy elsewhere.

προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἂν ... ἐπιπλεύσειαν: the expression is

treated as if it were a verb of fearing (13.1n.); for potential optative in such clauses see Sm. 2232.

**ἐξαπινάίως οὕτως**: i.e. so suddenly that they would be unable to post defences in time.

**ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ... τολμήσαι ἄν**: implied indirect statement even within the subordinate clause, since the Athenians' opinions are expressed (Sm. 2631).

**οὐδ', εἰ διανοοῦντο, μὴ οὐκ ἄν προαισθῆσθαι**: still in indirect statement, in which sc. προσδοκίαν οὐδεμίαν (even though this clause is not parallel to the one in which it appeared above). **μὴ οὐ** with potential optative (as in the clause above) is now also attracted into the infinitive of the indirect statement.

**προαισθῆσθαι**: because any attacking force (they thought) would have to assemble from the Peloponnese, at Corinth.

**93.4 λέγεται**: 18.5n.

**φρουρίον**: its name, Boudoron, is given 94.3 below; for the site see Garlan, *Poliorcétique* 79 n. 1.

**τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν**: 22.1n.

**94.1 οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσω**: evidently an 'early' passage, written before 421; see *Intro.* 4.

**παρὰ σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτοῦς** 'that they were just about to [Sm. 2766] sail against *them*'.

**ὅπερ** = τὸ ἐσπλεῖν.

**94.3 ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοῦς ... ἐφόβουν**: lit. 'there is an extent to which the ships troubled them also [in addition to the enemy]'. For **ὅτι** cf. 54.5n.

**διὰ χρόνου καθειλκυσθεῖσαι καὶ οὐδὲν στέγουσαι** 'since they had been launched after a long time [of disuse], and [being old and poorly maintained] were by no means watertight'.

#### 95-101 *Sitalces against Macedonia*

Once again (*Intro.* 18) the war extends to the barbarians; the unsuccessful Thracian expedition against Perdiccas gives T. the opportunity to describe both northern kingdoms (for his connections with Thrace see *Intro.* 3).

For the reign of Perdiccas see Hammond, *Macedonia* II.115-36; for

Sitalces and the Odrysians see Introd. n. to Chapter 29 and Danov, *Altthrakien* 282-332.

**95.1** δύο ὑποσχέσεις τὴν μὲν ... ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ ... ἀποδοῦναι: 'to enforce one promise, and fulfil another'.

**95.2** Φίλιππον: Athens had earlier made a treaty with him (1.57.3, cf. *IG* 1<sup>3</sup>.67; he was now evidently dead (100.3) and his son Amyntas was Perdiccas' new rival for control of Macedonia.

ἐπὶ βασιλείαι: of purpose (13.1n.) 'to make him king'.

ἃ ὑπεδέξατο: the exact terms of Perdiccas' agreement are left unspecified.

ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο: 29.4.

τὸν ἐπὶ Θράικης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον: Potidaea had finally surrendered (70), but Athens had suffered further setbacks in the region (58 and 79).

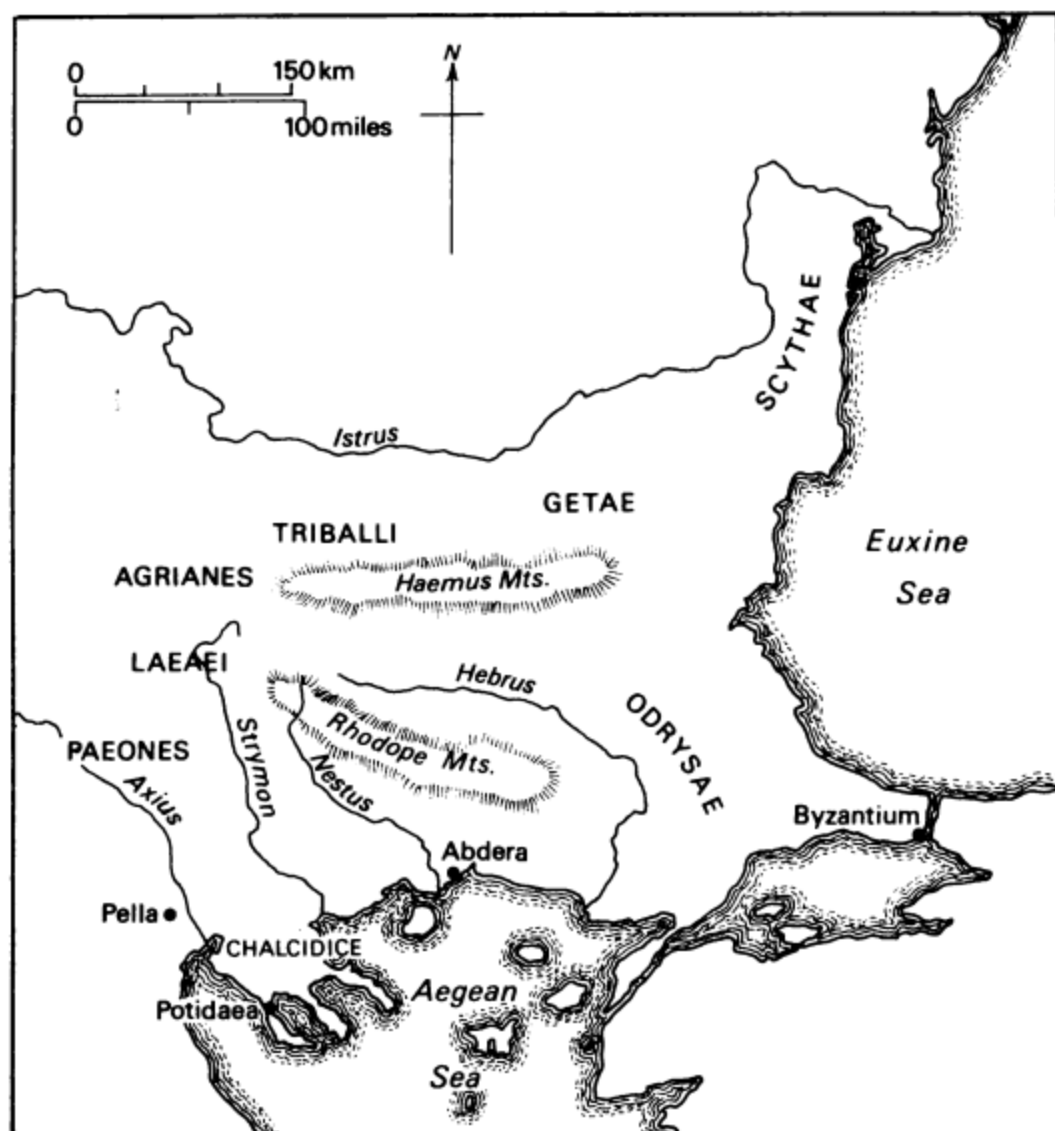
**95.3** Ἀγνώνα: 58.1n. He will have had Thracian experience as the founder of Amphipolis (4.102.3), and now serves as Sitalces' military adviser (cf. Demosthenes in Acarnania 3.105.3; Danov, *Altthrakien* 312 n. 128).

ἔδει γὰρ κτλ.: they do not keep their promise, 101.1.

**96.1-3 Members of the expedition.** Sitalces' 'empire' has no capital, being only a series of tribes which co-operate in the expedition, for booty or pay; but his total of 150,000 troops (98.3) and their geographical spread (including much of modern Bulgaria as well as Thracian Greece and Turkey) are impressive: from south-east Bulgaria come the Odrysians themselves (96.1); from the north-east, the Getae and other tribes north of Mt Haemus to the Istrus (Danube, 96.1; these were mounted archers); from south central Bulgaria, come the autonomous mountain tribes called Dii (96.2; these were 'sabre-carriers'); finally, from the west come the Paconian tribes (Agrianes, Laeaei and others).

For the tribes, mountains and rivers mentioned here see Map 6, and Danov, 'Zur historischen Geographie der thrakischen Stämme', *Altthrakien* 98-134 (with the map pp. 92-3).

**96.1** τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἴμου τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς Ῥοδόπης ... μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον: the phrase Θράικας ὧσων ἦρχε intervenes (*hyperbaton*), but these words belong together: 'all the Thracians whom he ruled [in an area] seaward, both towards the Black Sea and the Hellespont, from Hae-



Map 6. The kingdom of Sitalces (Thuc. 2.96)

mus [i.e. the eastern Balkans to the north] and Rhodope [in the south-west]'. On the use of ἐντός see 9.4n.

ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνῳ τε πόντῳ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον is deleted by many editors, but θάλασσα needs a parenthesis specifying *which* bodies of water are meant, both here and after πρὸς θάλασσαν below.

ὑπερβάντι Αἶμον: 49.5n.

μέρη 'regions' (sc. τῶν Θραϊκῶν).

πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου stands for μᾶλλον πρὸς θάλασσαν τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου, '[from the Danube] more in

the direction of the Black Sea [than toward the Hellespont or Aegean]'. For the phrase ἡ θάλασσα ἡ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου cf. Hdt. 2.33.4.

κατώικητο: passive, 'were settled'.

ὁμόσκευοι 'using the same equipment [in war]'.

96.2 μαχαιροφόρων: see Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.10; Danov, *Altthrakien* 313n. 133.

96.3 καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὧν ἦρχε: *hyperbaton* for 'and whatever other of the tribes which he ruled are Paeonian'. For the Paeonians see Hdt. 5.12-16; Hammond, *Macedonia* 1.418-19.

96.3-4 The western and northern boundaries of Sitalces' rule (the southern and eastern ones are the sea).

τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη 'on the side of the Paeones, who are from that point [the Strymon river] independent [of Sitalces]'.

τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ τούτους αὐτονόμους: 'on the side of the Triballi [i.e. to the north], who are also independent'. See Danov, *Altthrakien* 100-3. Their ferocity, remoteness from Greece and suitably comic name (see the commentary of R. L. Hunter (Cambridge 1983) on Eubulus fr. 75.3) made them a favourite object of ridicule (especially Ar. *Birds* 1565ff.). Eventually they defeated and killed Sitalces (4.101.5).

96.4 Τρῆρες ... καὶ Τιλαταῖοι: for the first see Callinus fr. 4 West; Danov, *Altthrakien* 99 n.5; Hammond, *Macedonia* 11.559 n.5; the second tribe is otherwise unknown.

τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους: mod. *Vitosha*.

Ὅσκιου ποταμοῦ: mod. *Iskur*.

97.1-2 The dimensions of Sitalces' rule are given in the terms familiar from Herodotus (e.g. 4.101.2, 4.86.1) of fast sailing-days and nights, and unencumbered (εὐζωνος) walking-days. (1) Along the coast, from Abdera to the mouth of the Danube, 4 days' and nights' sailing, 10½ days' walking. (2) Through the interior from Byzantium (extreme south-east) to the Strymon (north-west), 13 days' walking. Such information would have been available from merchants and other travellers. For converting these terms to stades see *HCT* 11.243-4.

97.1 αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα κτλ.: interlacing word order, 'this territory is, at its shortest, a coastal voyage of 4 days and nights'.

νηὶ στρογγύλῃ: i.e. a round-bottomed merchant ship built for



buoyancy and capacity (rather than for speed, like the long and narrow trireme).

**97.2** διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω 'farthest inland', διὰ + genitive of distance, 29.3n.

**97.3-6** **The wealth and power of the Thracians.** The tribute which they received from the barbarian and Greek cities of the area probably represents a significant concession from the Athenians (Danov, *Allthrakien* 300 n. 65).

**97.3** ἐπὶ Σεύθου: this nephew of Sitalces succeeded him (101.5, 4.101.5; Danov, *Allthrakien* 317-18) rather than his exuberantly pro-Athenian son Sadocus (29.5n.).

δύναμις is predicative: 'the tribute ... under Seuthes ... was a *value* (LSJ s.v. III.2) of approximately ...'

**97.4** τοῦναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας: for the generosity of the Persian king see Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.7.

ὄντα μὲν ... ὁμῶς δὲ ... ἐχρήσαντο: the second clause shifts to a different construction, Ros 441.

λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον κτλ.: explaining νόμον, but delayed by the emphatic clause with μὲν which intervenes (*hyperbaton*).

**97.5** ἰσχύι δὲ ... καὶ ... πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα: δὲ = ἀλλά.

**97.6** οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ are placed closer for emphasis than they should be, since the first governs ἀδύνατα (sc. ἔστι), the second οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατόν: 'not only [οὐχ ὅτι, Sm. 2763a] is it impossible to compare the states in Europe with it, but not even in Asia is there a tribe which it is possible to compare, one for one, with the Scythians, if they are unified'. (Hdt. 5.3 had said the same about the *Thracians*.)

ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι ... οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατόν ... ἀντιστῆναι: synonyms (62.3n.). For the neuter plural see 3.3n.

οὐδ' ... ἔθνος ... οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι: cf. 62.2n. For οὐδὲ ... οὐκ as a single negative see K-G II.204.

οὐ μὴν οὐδ' 'nor again ...' The phrase usually follows a negative statement, which is perhaps implied here in ὁμογνωμονοῦσι: '... if they were unified [as they are clearly not]; *nor* are they a match for others in good sense ...' Cf. *GP* 339.

**98** Sitalces' route to the Macedonian border, and the size of his army. See Danov, *Allthrakien* 313-14 and, for a map, Hammond, *Macedonia* II.128.

**98.1** ἐτοῖμα ἦν: 3.3n.

ἄρας: 12.4n.

Κερκίνης: mod. *Ograzden*.

ὅτε ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐστράτευσεν: the date of this expedition is unknown.

**98.2** Δόβηρον: despite being a Paeonian town the name may be Thracian (cf. mod. *Doiran* in Yugoslavian Macedonia), Danov, *Altthrakien* 314 n. 136.

**99.2** ἐπάνωθεν 'in the interior'. For the semi-independent kingdoms which Sitalces bypasses see Hammond, *Macedonia* 1.436.

**99.3-100.2 The extent of Perdiccas' kingdom.** In contrast to Sitalces' federation of peoples extending westward, the Macedonians had displaced or wiped out tribes in a move to the east; but they remained relatively weak until Perdiccas was succeeded by Archelaus (100.2n.). For a detailed commentary on this passage see Hammond, *Macedonia* 1.435-40.

**99.3** Τημενίδαι ... ἐξ Ἄργους: the Macedonian claim that they were Greeks, descended from a son of Temenos, was promulgated by Herodotus (8.138.2) and Euripides (*Temenos* and *Archelaus*) as well as Thucydides; see Hammond, *Macedonia* 11.3-11; Annette Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaus* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 87, Leiden 1985) 133-7.

**99.4** τῆς δὲ Παιονίας ... στενὴν τινα: sc. γῆν.

**100.2** Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱός: he was the host of the exiled Euripides (who wrote *Bacchae* at his court, as well as an *Archelaus* in 408/7, see above 99.3n.), perhaps also of Thucydides himself; Plato's condemnation of his wickedness (*Gorgias* 471A-C) may be a reaction to the admiration expressed here (cf. *Intro.* 29 n. 93). The finality of T.'s judgement suggests that it was written after Archelaus' death in 399 (*Intro.* 1 n. 5). For his rule see Hammond, *Macedonia* 11.137-40.

**100.3-5 Initial Thracian successes.** Sitalces controls three of the cities along the Axios leading south to Pella, but cannot capture Europus (mod. *Ashiklar*, Danov, *Altthrakien* 314 n. 139; for the other sites see Hammond, *Macedonia* 1.140-1 map 14). Then he turns east to ravage Mygdonia; the Macedonians are unable to stop him.

**101.1-4 Deterioration of Sitalces' position.** The Athenian support

fails to arrive, and outlying areas to the south and west begin to prepare to fight him.

**101.1** λόγους ἐποιεῖτο 'began to negotiate'.

ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ᾔξειν: for the redundant negative see Sm. 2740.

**101.4** παρέσχε δὲ λόγον 'he caused talk as far away as [ἐπὶ, K-G 1.504] the enemies of Athens [in central Greece]', introducing a clause of fearing (13.1n.). For rumours that Sitalces was planning to send troops to central Greece see Ar. *Ach.* 148-60.

ὕπ' αὐτῶν: sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

ἀγόμενοι: sc. οἱ Θράικες.

**101.5-6** Seuthes (bribed by Perdiccas) persuades Sitalces to withdraw.

**101.5** αὐτῶι οὐδὲν ἐπράσσετο: 41.4n.

ἀναπείθεται ... ὥστ': 2.4n.

**101.6** ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο: Perdiccas is so perfidious (80.7, 95.2) that it is notable when he *keeps* a promise.

### 102-3 *Phormio in Acarnania*

Following the Spartan expedition in the region (Chapters 80-2), Phormio (an old hand there, 68.7) attempts to secure it for the future.

**102.1** ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ: this town had been in Spartan hands the previous year (33.1-2).

**102.2** Οἰνιάδας: Pericles had attacked Oiniadae without success already in 455/4 (1.111.3; Diod. 11.85; Hammond, *Epirus* 496).

τὴν πόλιν ... περιλιμνάζων: i.e. surrounding it with water.

**102.3-6** The mouth of the Achelous (cf. Hdt. 2.10).

**102.3** τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι 'right at its mouth'.

εἰσὶ ... αἱ ἡπείρωνται, ἐλπίς δὲ καὶ πάσας κτλ. 'some [35.2n.] of the islands have become part of the mainland [through the silt], and there is an expectation [ἐλπίς, 64.1n.] that all of them may do so in a very short time'. As Paus. 8.24.11 noted, T.'s expectation was not fulfilled.

**102.4** ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως τῶι μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι ξύνδεσμοι γίνονται 'and they serve each other as frames for the silt [i.e. places around which it can collect, cf. ξύνδεσμοι in 75.5] because it [the silt] doesn't scatter'.

παρὰ ἄλλῃ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον ... ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: 'since they are located variously and not in straight rows, and do not allow a straight passage for the water into the ocean'.

**102.5–6 Alcmeon in Acarnania.** Eriphyle (who had been bribed with a necklace) betrayed her husband Amphiaras of Argos into joining the doomed expedition of the seven against Thebes; in revenge their son Alcmeon murdered his mother, whose furies sent him wandering first to Psophis in Arcadia, then to Achelous as T. describes here. Gomme, *HCT* II.250 suggests that the story was not well known, but Alcmeon's interpretation of the Delphic oracle's advice must have been mentioned in one of the many tragedies devoted to him, including two by Euripides and one by Sophocles (see Radt on Soph. frs. 108–10); cf. Paus. 8.24.8 and especially Plutarch, *De exilio* 602D ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμέων ἰλὺν νεοπαγῇ Ἀχελώϊου προσχωννύντος ἐπώικησεν ὑποφεύγων τὰς εὐμενίδας, ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν. On the traditions see Hammond, *Epirus* 447–8 (who however overlooks the contribution of tragedy) and Jacoby on *FGrHist* 70 (Ephorus) F 123.

As for Macedonia (99.3n.) and Thrace (29n.), interest in the mythical founders of Acarnania seems to coincide with the region's increased importance for Athens.

**102.5 λέγεται:** see 18.5n., and Ridley, 'Exegesis and audience' 35.

**102.6 ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ... ἐπλανᾶτο** 'he thought that a sufficient home for him personally [τῷ σώματι of an individual, 41.1n.] would have been silted up (ἄν εἴη κεχωσμένη in direct speech) in the considerable time that he had been in exile after killing his mother'.

## APPENDIX: DIVERGENCES FROM THE OXFORD CLASSICAL TEXT

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I add a very brief critical apparatus *solely* for the instances (excluding punctuation and paragraph division) where the text of this edition differs from that of H. Stuart Jones, revised by J. E. Powell (Oxford 1942). Discussion may be found in the commentary, or in the apparatus of Alberti (Rome 1972), whose *sigla* are used here.

- 2.4 ἐπαγομένοις: ἐπαγαγομένοις C
- 3.2 κρατῆσαι: κρατήσιν Aen. Tact. 2.3
- 4.2 οἱ om. A
- 4.5 αἱ πλήσιον θύραι: πλήσιον om. CG
- 8.2 ἐλέγοντο: ἐλέγετο CG
- 9.4 πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι [Κυκλάδες]: Κυκλάδες del. Porpo; ἄλλαι om. C < G >
- 10.3 ἀξιωτάτους CG: ἀξιολογωτάτους ABEFM<sup>3</sup>
- 15.4 τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου: τὸ < τοῦ > ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου Cobet
- 15.4 τῇ δωδεκάτῃ del. Torstrik
- 16.1 τῇ τε οὖν – οἰκήσαντες: locus desperatus (μετέϊχον damnaverunt multi, sed habet Π<sup>8</sup>); τῶν τε ἀρχαίων et ἀναστάσεις C
- 21.1 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν non vertit Valla, del. Krüger
- 21.3 ὠργητο: ὠρμητο CEG, γρ. Π<sup>8</sup>
- 22.3 Πειράσιοι Π<sup>8</sup> (Παράσιοι ACEF < G > M, Περάσιοι B): om. recc., delere voluit Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (ed. 2, Florentiae 1962) 325; sed cf. Classen–Steup ad loc.
- 29.3 οὔτε: οὐδὲ B
- 29.3 τε πρῶτος: τε del. Classen
- 29.5 πέμψειν: πέμπειν CG
- 40.2 αὐτοὶ: οἱ αὐτοὶ CG
- 42.4 τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι: τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι CG
- 43.6 [μετὰ τοῦ]: del. Schneider
- 49.8 καὶ ἐς αἰδοῖα CG: καὶ om. ABEFM
- 51.2 χρή CG: χρῆν ABEFM
- 70.4 τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος: τὸ del. Porpo
- 73.2 οἱ Πλαταιῆς πρέσβεις: Πλαταιῆς del. Stuart Jones
- 75.1 ἔτι ἐξιέναι: ἐπεξιέναι CPm

- 77.6 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ om. CP  
 79.6 ἀποχωροῦσι: ἀναχωροῦσι B  
 80.1 ῥαϊδίως ἄν: ἄν om. CG  
 80.5 Φώτυος: φώτιος C<sup>3</sup>G<sup>1</sup>  
 80.8 ῥαϊδίως ἄν: ἄν om. C  
 83.3 ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν (cf. 81.6): ναυμαχίαι CG  
 83.3 διαβαλλόντων: διαβάλλοντες Stahl  
 90.1 παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν: ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ABEFM  
 90.2 πλέοντες Dobree: πλέοντα codd.  
 96.1 ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινόν – Ἑλλήσποντον del. editores  
 97.3 ὅσωνπερ ἦρξαν Dobree: ὅσων (ὅσον recc.) προσῆξαν codd.  
 102.4 τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι del. Stahl

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- GP* J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles* (2nd ed. Oxford 1954)
- HCT* A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K. J. Dover, *A historical commentary on Thucydides* (5 volumes, Oxford 1945-81)
- K-G* Raphael Kühner, Bernhard Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, zweiter Teil: Satzlehre* (2 volumes, 3rd ed. Hanover 1898-1904). Cited by volume and page number
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon*, 9th ed. revised by Sir Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford 1925-40)
- M-L* R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.* (Oxford 1969)
- MT* William Watson Goodwin, *Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb* (London 1889, repr. 1965). Cited by section
- RE* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894-1979)
- Sm.* Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek grammar*, revised by Gordon M. Messing, Cambridge, Mass. 1956. Cited by paragraph
- VS* *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. Hermann Diels, 3 volumes, 6th ed. revised by Walther Kranz, 1951-2. Cited by (1) author-number and (2) number of the testimonium ('A') or fragment ('B'); e.g., 'VS 80 B 6' = *Vorsokratiker*, author no. 80 (Gorgias), fragment



no. 6. (Volume and page number are sometimes added in parentheses)

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- |               |  |
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| Classen-Steup | <i>Thukydides</i> , erklärt von Johannes Classen, bearbeitet von Julius Steup (Vols. 1-II, 5th ed. 1914-19; Vols. III-VIII, 3rd ed. 1892-1922)       |
| Krüger        | Θουκυδίδου ξυγγραφή, mit erklärenden Anmerkungen herausgegeben von K. W. Krüger (Vol. I.1, 3rd ed. Berlin 1860; 1.2-11, 2nd ed. Berlin 1858-61)      |
| Luschnat      | <i>Thucydidis historiae</i> , post Carolum Hude ed. Otto Luschnat, Vol. 1 (Books 1-2 (all published), 2nd ed. Leipzig 1960; Bibliotheca Teubneriana) |
| Poppo-Stahl   | <i>Thucydidis de bello peloponnesiaco libri octo</i> , ed. E. F. Poppo, rev. J. M. Stahl (Leipzig 1875-83)   |
| de Romilly    | <i>Thucydide, la guerre du péloponnèse</i> , livre II, texte établi et traduit par Jacqueline de Romilly (Paris 1962)                                |
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## ADDENDA

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**p. 1 n. 5** (On the possibility that Thucydides lived until the late 390s.) See Pouilloux and Salviat, 'Thucydide après l'exil et la composition de son histoire', *R. Ph.* 59 (1985) 13-20.

**p. 7 n. 21** For a perceptive survey of Thucydidean scholarship in the 1970s see W. R. Connor, 'A postmodernist Thucydides?', *C.J.* 72 (1977) 289-98.

**p. 21 n. 64** The 'Second letter to Ammaeus' has now been translated by Stephen Usher, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: critical essays II* (Loeb Library, Cambridge, Mass. 1986).

**p. 22** (Abstract nouns.) See now Raphael Freundlich, *Verbalsubstantive als Namen für Satzinhalte in der Sprache des Thukydides* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 152, Frankfurt 1987).

**p. 29 n. 92** Following L. Koenen (*Studia Papyrologica* 15 (1976) 55-66) I assume the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* to have been written by Cratippus.

**p. 123** For other evidence of concern over occupation of the Pelargicon see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 164 n. 115.

**p. 133** Another document for Thracian unpopularity at Athens is Euripides' *Hecuba*; see E. Delebecque, *Euripide et la guerre de Péloponnèse* (Paris 1951) 154-64.

**p. 142** See now Vincent J. Rosivach, 'The Athenians and autochthony', *C.Q.* 37 (1987) 294-306

**p. 155** (On ἀπράγμων.) See now L. B. Carter, *The quiet Athenian* (Oxford 1986)

**p. 174** (On old age and wealth.) Add Philemon, fr. 127 Kock.

**p. 177** For a survey of the concept of female φύσις see Ruth Hubbard and Marian Lowe, *Woman's nature: rationalizations of inequality* (Boston 1983).

**p. 204** See now Thomas Scanlan, 'Thucydides and tyranny', *Classical Antiquity* 6 (1987) 286-301.

**p. 247** Add: 16.2 καταλιπόντες codd.; καταλείποντες recs.

# INDEXES

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